



U.S. Department of Justice

**Federal Bureau of Investigation**

Washington, D.C. 20535

December 2, 2019

KATELYN POLANTZ, CNN  
C/O CHARLES D. TOBIN  
BALLARD SPAHR LLP  
12<sup>TH</sup> FLOOR  
1909 K STREET, NW  
WASHINGTON, DC 20006

FOIPA Request No.: 1433273-000  
Civil Action No.: 19-cv-01626  
Subject: All 302's of individuals who were  
questioned/interviewed by FBI Agents working for the  
Office of Special Counsel Robert Mueller

Dear CNN:

The enclosed documents were reviewed under the Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA), Title 5, United States Code, Section 552/552a. Below you will find checked boxes under applicable statutes for the exemptions asserted to protect information exempt from disclosure. The appropriate exemptions are noted on the processed pages next to redacted information. In addition, a deleted page information sheet was inserted to indicate where pages were withheld entirely pursuant to applicable exemptions. An Explanation of Exemptions is enclosed to further explain justification for withheld information.

**Section 552**

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| <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(2)            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(B) |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(3) | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(C) |
| Federal Rules of                           | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(D) |
| Criminal Procedure 6(e)                    | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(E) |
| 50 U.S.C § 3024(i)                         | <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(F)            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(4)            | <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(8)               |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(5) | <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(9)               |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(6) |   |

**Section 552a**

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| <input type="checkbox"/> (d)(5) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (j)(2) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(1) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(2) |
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| <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(4) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(5) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(6) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(7) |

506 pages were reviewed and 231 pages are being released.

- ☒ Deletions were made by the Department of Justice/Office of Information Policy . To appeal those denials, please write directly to that agency.

Please see the paragraphs below for relevant information specific to your request and the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum for standard responses applicable to all requests.

- ☐ Document(s) were located which originated with, or contained information concerning, other Government Agency (ies) [OGA].
- ☐ This information has been referred to the OGA(s) for review and direct response to you.
- ☐ We are consulting with another agency. The FBI will correspond with you regarding this information when the consultation is completed.

Please refer to the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum for additional standard responses applicable to your request. "Part 1" of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. "Part 2" includes additional standard responses that apply to all requests for records on individuals. "Part 3" includes general information about FBI records that you may find useful. Also enclosed is our Explanation of Exemptions.

Although your request is in litigation, we are required by law to provide you the following information:

You may file an appeal by writing to the Director, Office of Information Policy (OIP), United States Department of Justice, Sixth Floor, 441 G Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20001, or you may submit an appeal through OIP's FOIA online portal by creating an account on the following website: <https://www.foiaonline.gov/foiaonline/action/public/home>. Your appeal must be postmarked or electronically transmitted within ninety (90) days from the date of this letter in order to be considered timely. If you submit your appeal by mail, both the letter and the envelope should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Act Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so it may be easily identified.

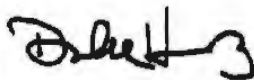
You may seek dispute resolution services by contacting the Office of Government Information Services (OGIS). The contact information for OGIS is as follows: Office of Government Information Services, National Archives and Records Administration, 8601 Adelphi Road-OGIS, College Park, Maryland 20740-6001, e-mail at [ogis@nara.gov](mailto:ogis@nara.gov); telephone at 202-741-5770; toll free at 1-877-684-6448; or facsimile at 202-741-5769. Alternatively, you may contact the FBI's FOIA Public Liaison by emailing [foipaquestions@fbi.gov](mailto:foipaquestions@fbi.gov). If you submit your dispute resolution correspondence by email, the subject heading should clearly state "Dispute Resolution Services." Please also cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so it may be easily identified.

Please direct any further inquiries about this case to the Attorney representing the Government in this matter. Please use the FOIPA Request Number and/or Civil Action Number in all correspondence or inquiries concerning your request.



See additional information which follows.

Sincerely,



David M. Hardy  
Section Chief  
Record/Information  
Dissemination Section  
Information Management Division

Enclosures

**Additional Information:**

In response to your Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) request, enclosed is a processed copy of Bates Stamped documents, FBI (19-cv-1278)-504 through FBI (19-cv-1278)-1009. The enclosed documents represent the second interim release of information responsive to your request. To minimize costs to both you and the FBI, duplicate copies of the same document were not processed.

Additionally, included in this release are 50 pages of previously processed material. This material is being provided to you per a court order. This material consists of Flynn 302's Bates 17-cv-397-1 through 17-cv-397-10, Comey 302's FBI 18-cv-00932-1 through FBI 18-cv-00932-6, and Ohr 302's FBI(18cv2107)-1 through FBI(18cv2107)-34.

## FBI FOIPA Addendum

As referenced in our letter responding to your Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) request, the FBI FOIPA Addendum includes information applicable to your request. Part 1 of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. Part 2 includes additional standard responses that apply to all requests for records on individuals. Part 3 includes general information about FBI records. For questions regarding Parts 1, 2, or 3, visit the [www.fbi.gov/foia](http://www.fbi.gov/foia) website under "Contact Us." Previously mentioned appeal and dispute resolution services are also available at the web address.

### Part 1: The standard responses below apply to all requests:

- (i) **5 U.S.C. § 552(c).** Congress excluded three categories of law enforcement and national security records from the requirements of the FOIA [5 U.S.C. § 552(c) (2006 & Supp. IV (2010))]. FBI responses are limited to those records subject to the requirements of the FOIA. Additional information about the FBI and the FOIPA can be found on the [www.fbi.gov/foia](http://www.fbi.gov/foia) website.
- (ii) **National Security/Intelligence Records.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of national security and foreign intelligence records pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(1), (b)(3), and PA exemption (j)(2) as applicable to requests for records about individuals [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(1), (b)(3), and (j)(2); 50 U.S.C § 3024(i)(1)]. The mere acknowledgment of the existence or nonexistence of such records is itself a classified fact protected by FOIA exemption (b)(1) and/or would reveal intelligence sources, methods, or activities protected by exemption (b)(3) [50 USC § 3024(i)(1)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that national security or foreign intelligence records do or do not exist.

### Part 2: The standard responses below apply to all requests for records on individuals:

- (i) **Requests for Records about any Individual—Watch Lists.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of any individual's name on a watch list pursuant to FOIA exemption (b)(7)(E) and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(7)(E), (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that watch list records do or do not exist.
- (ii) **Requests for Records for Incarcerated Individuals.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records which could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any incarcerated individual pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(7)(E), (b)(7)(F), and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(7)(E), (b)(7)(F), and (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that such records do or do not exist.

### Part 3: General Information:

- (i) **Record Searches.** The Record/Information Dissemination Section (RIDS) searches for reasonably described records by searching those systems or locations where responsive records would reasonably be found. A reasonable search normally consists of a search for main files in the Central Records System (CRS), an extensive system of records consisting of applicant, investigative, intelligence, personnel, administrative, and general files compiled and maintained by the FBI in the course of fulfilling law enforcement, intelligence, and administrative functions. The CRS spans the entire FBI organization and encompasses the records of FBI Headquarters (FBIHQ), FBI Field Offices, and FBI Legal Attaché Offices (Legats) worldwide and includes Electronic Surveillance (ELSUR) records. For additional information about our record searches visit [www.fbi.gov/services/information-management/foipa/requesting-fbi-records](http://www.fbi.gov/services/information-management/foipa/requesting-fbi-records).
- (ii) **FBI Records.** Founded in 1908, the FBI carries out a dual law enforcement and national security mission. As part of this dual mission, the FBI creates and maintains records on various subjects; however, the FBI does not maintain records on every person, subject, or entity.
- (iii) **Requests for Criminal History Records or Rap Sheets.** The Criminal Justice Information Services (CJIS) Division provides Identity History Summary Checks – often referred to as a criminal history record or rap sheets. These criminal history records are not the same as material in an investigative "FBI file." An Identity History Summary Check is a listing of information taken from fingerprint cards and documents submitted to the FBI in connection with arrests, federal employment, naturalization, or military service. For a fee, individuals can request a copy of their Identity History Summary Check. Forms and directions can be accessed at [www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/identity-history-summary-checks](http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/identity-history-summary-checks). Additionally, requests can be submitted electronically at [www.edo.cjis.gov](http://www.edo.cjis.gov). For additional information, please contact CJIS directly at (304) 625-5590.
- (iv) **The National Name Check Program (NNCP).** The mission of NNCP is to analyze and report information in response to name check requests received from federal agencies, for the purpose of protecting the United States from foreign and domestic threats to national security. Please be advised that this is a service provided to other federal agencies. Private citizens cannot request a name check.

## **EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS**

### **SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552**

- (b)(1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and (B) are in fact properly classified to such Executive order;
- (b)(2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;
- (b)(3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552b of this title), provided that such statute (A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;
- (b)(4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;
- (b)(5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;
- (b)(6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;
- (b)(7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information ( A ) could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, ( B ) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, ( C ) could reasonably be expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, ( D ) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, ( E ) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or ( F ) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual;
- (b)(8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or
- (b)(9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

### **SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552a**

- (d)(5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;
- (j)(2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals;
- (k)(1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;
- (k)(2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;
- (k)(4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;
- (k)(5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability, eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;
- (k)(7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FOI/PA

DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

Civil Action No.: 19-cv-1278 / 19-cv-1626

FOIA: 1432673-000 / 1433273-000

PDF Title: 19-cv-1278 Release 2 Bates 504-1009

Total Withheld Pages = 275

Bates Page Reference	Reason for Withholding (i.e., exemptions with coded rationale, duplicate, sealed by order of court, etc.)
FBI(19cv1278) 555	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 556	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 557	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 558	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 559	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 562	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 563	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 591	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 594	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 598	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 600	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 603	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 605	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 607	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 608	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 609	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 610	b5 per DOJ/OIP
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FBI(19cv1278) 612	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 614	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 615	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 617	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 620	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 623	b3; b6; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 624	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C; b7E

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<b>Bates Page Reference</b>	<b>Reason for Withholding</b> (i.e., exemptions with coded rationale, duplicate, sealed by order of court, etc.)
FBI(19cv1278) 625	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 626	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 627	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 628	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 629	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 630	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 631	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 632	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 633	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 637	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 638	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 639	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 640	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 641	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 642	b3; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 687	Duplicate
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FBI(19cv1278) 709	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7E
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FBI(19cv1278) 711	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 712	b3; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 713	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 714	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7E
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FBI(19cv1278) 739	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 740	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
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FBI(19cv1278) 761	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
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FBI(19cv1278) 767	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A; b7C; b7E

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FBI(19cv1278) 770	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 771	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
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FBI(19cv1278) 777	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
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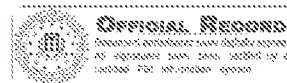
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## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/12/2018

Richard Gates was interviewed at 395 E Street SW, Washington, D.C. in the presence of his attorney, Tom Green. Present for the interview were Supervisory Special Agent (SSA) [REDACTED] Special Agent (SA) [REDACTED] Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Andrew Goldstein, and SASC Greg Andres. After being advised of the official identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

b6  
b7C

After the 2016 Presidential election, Gates spent November 10 – November 13, 2016 at Trump Tower. On November 13, Gates became the Deputy Chairman for the Inauguration and went to Washington, D.C. to work on the presidential inauguration.

In the transition period, Gates had less contact with Flynn than he had during the campaign period. Gates estimated he had a handful of calls with Flynn and that they discussed potential cabinet officials, special assistant positions, how many people Flynn wanted to invite to the inauguration, and other logistics matters.

Gates had a little more contact with KT McFarland than he did with Flynn. He had gotten to know her on the campaign and thought they had good chemistry. Gates thought of McFarland as one of a few people capable of breaking down things so that [then-candidate] Donald Trump could understand. McFarland sat through a lot of personnel decisions and interviews.

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Investigation on 04/18/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 05/15/2018

by [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7A  
b7E

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Rick Gates , On 04/18/2018 , Page 2 of 5

b6

b7A

b7B Per DOJ/OIP

b7C

Gates did not recall hearing about a November 20, 2016 meeting involving Kushner, Flynn, and Kislyak.

Gates was not aware of a December 13, 2016 meeting between Kushner and Gorkov.

b6

b7A

b7B Per DOJ/OIP

b7C

b6

b7A

b7B Per DOJ/OIP

b7C

Gates did not talk about Russia with Flynn. Gates did not hear about Flynn's communications with Kislyak until after the fact.

Gates was surprised when Flynn was fired. He thought Flynn had a good relationship with Trump and that Trump had not wanted to fire Flynn but felt like he had no choice. The National Security Advisor cannot lie to the Vice President and not have anything happen to him because of it. Gates said Pence went to Trump about firing Flynn and he thought it was one of the few times Pence pushed Trump hard like that.

b6

b7A

b7B Per DOJ/OIP

b7C



Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Rick Gates , On 04/18/2018 , Page 3 of 5

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Gates heard that after Sessions recused himself from the Russia investigation, Trump was "on the warpath" and said he would fire Sessions, but that Trump did not follow through. Gates heard that the recusal had been done by Don McGahn and Sessions and Trump had not been consulted. Gates heard about Trump's reaction from [REDACTED] Rick Dearborn, and [REDACTED]. Gates said some people thought Trump would have been okay with the recusal if he had been notified in advance.

b6  
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Prior to Sessions' recusal, Gates had not had conversations with anyone about recusal issues. After the recusal, he recalled conversations where people offered their opinion that had Rudy Giuliani been Attorney General, he would not have recused himself. Gates knew Giuliani had been the first choice for Attorney General, but turned it down because he wanted to be Secretary of State instead.

Gates had no firsthand awareness of Trump's views on James Comey. Neither Gates [REDACTED] had conversations with Trump about Comey's termination. Gates was surprised Trump actually fired Comey, since Gates did not think Trump followed through with firing people. Gates thought Trump was frustrated with a lot of agencies, not just the Department of Justice and FBI. [REDACTED] told Gates he heard from [REDACTED] and Priebus that Trump said things needed to be fair and equal and it was not fair no one was looking at Hillary Clinton.

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

In general, Trump's view of the Russia investigation was that it attacked the legitimacy of his win.

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

#### Discussions of Pardons:

The possibility of pardons came up a couple of months after Gates' indictment. There were stories about the FBI and DOJ being corrupt and Manafort said he was having conversations with [then Counsel to the President] John Dowd, as was Manafort's lawyer.

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Rick Gates , On 04/18/2018 , Page 4 of 5

In October or November of 2017, Gates and Manafort had a conversation in which Manafort indicated they would "get through it," that the charges were trumped up and "BS" and they would figure it out and there was more to come. Gates had the sense Manafort was saying to Gates not to plead. Manafort told Gates the Nunes report would come out soon and there would be some bombshells in it. Manafort said he talked to Dowd and they had talked about starting a legal defense fund. Manafort did not say whether Dowd brought up Nunes.

In January 2018, CNN leaked that a plea agreement had been reached, and Manafort told Gates people were worried it was true. Gates called Manafort and told him it was not true. Manafort told Gates that he (Manafort) had called Dowd and also told Dowd it was not true that Gates had reached a plea agreement. Manafort said something like, "I talked to Dowd. I've covered you at the White House" and added that a legal defense fund was coming and they were going to "take care of us." Manafort told Gates there were two funds out there. The first was called "Patriot Defense Funds" and it covered White House staff. The other fund would cover anyone outside of the White House and Manafort and Gates would be "#1 and #2 on that list."

Manafort told Gates it was stupid to plead and that he would get a better deal down the road. Manafort said he had been in touch with Dowd and repeated they should "sit tight" and "we'll be taken care of." Manafort never explicitly mentioned pardons. Gates asked Manafort outright if anyone mentioned pardons and Manafort said no one used that word.

In February 2018, the day before Gates entered his plea, Manafort called Gates and and his tone was that Gates should "stick to your guns, we'll get through this." Manafort told Gates that he had been on the phone with Dowd and his attorney when Trump apparently walked into the room with Dowd and said to Manafort words to the effect of "stay strong." Manafort told Gates that Kushner had sent him emails of support and that he could show the emails to Gates if they were together. Gates had the sense the emails Manafort mentioned were recent. Gates had no basis to trust Manafort and thought the conversation was designed to convince Gates not to plead guilty. By then, Gates had already made his decision. Gates added that Manafort talked a big game, but Gates had no confidence what he said was true. Gates thought [REDACTED] [REDACTED] listened to the telephone call between Manafort and Gates. Gates did not tell Manafort others listened to the call.

b6  
b7C

The day of Gates' plea, Manafort called again and went through a last minute appeal that Gates not plea. Manafort mentioned the legal defense fund in that call as well. That was the last time Gates spoke to Manafort, but they have communicated by text; Manafort sent Gates a text message congratulating him for getting rid of his GPS monitor at one point.

In one of the calls with Manafort, Manafort told Gates that Trump was "watching their case." Gates also noted that the media asked Trump about Gates at one point and Trump had no response. Gates thought that was surprising and that Trump would have gone after him.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Rick Gates , On 04/18/2018 , Page 5 of 5

Gates was not sure the source of the reporting on his plea arrangements. Gates had told [REDACTED] about it. Manafort did not know; Gates got no indication from Manafort that Manafort knew Gates planned to plead when he did. Gates knew [REDACTED] had a friend at CNN, but [REDACTED] did not have enough detail to be the source.

b6  
b7C

April 18, 2018

Rick GATES

Tom Green - atty

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

transition - role.

11/10 - 11/13 @ Trump Tower

11/13 - dep. chairman for inauguration. went to DC to work on inauguration.

Mike Flynn - less contact than during campaign. handful of calls. cabinet-rank, special assistants, how many ppl @ inauguration. logistics.

KT McFarland - a little more contact. got to know on campaign. good chemistry b/c one of few ppl that could break things down for Trump. general convos. sat through a lot of personnel decisions/interviews.

foreign leader meetings? no during transition.

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Kushner, Flynn, Kislyak mtg, Nov 30. don't recall hearing about it. [redacted]

[redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

12/13/19 Kushner, Gorkov. Aware @ time or after?  
No. Was in DC.

[redacted]

[redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Flynn - didn't talk about Russia. 3-4 times, just about inaugural issues.

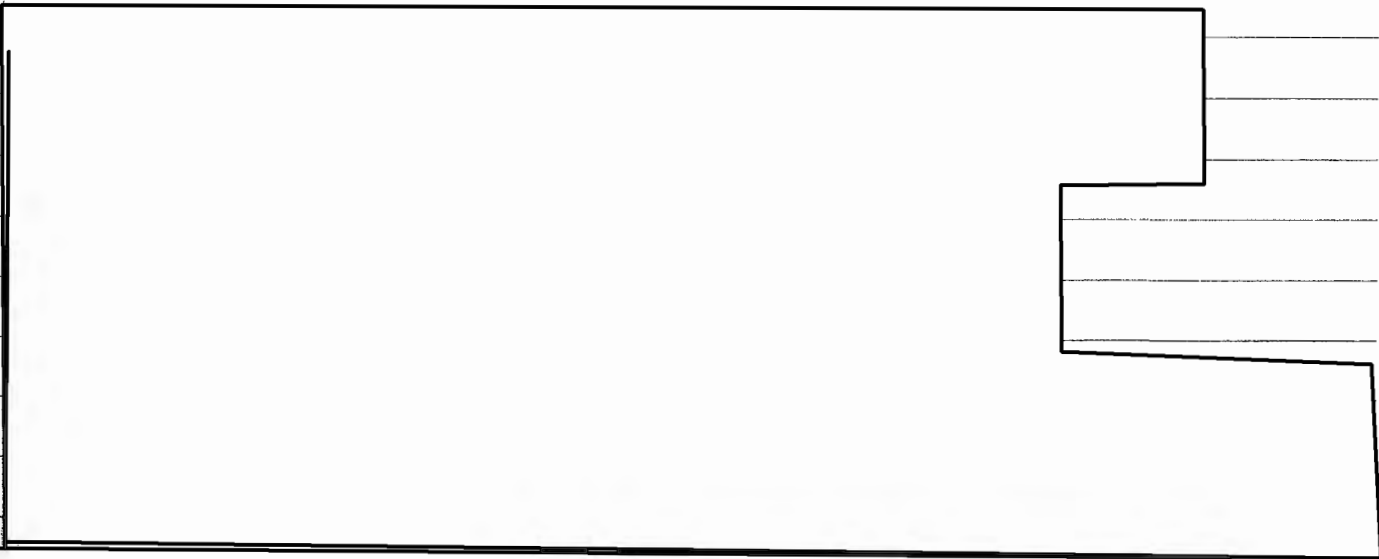
surprised to hear Flynn fired? yes. good re'ship w/  
POTUS. POTUS didn't want to fire, but no choice.  
NSA can't ~~see~~ lie to VP and not do anything.  
Pence → Trump. ~~as~~ one of few times Pence went to  
Trump and said Flynn had to go.

Rick Warren,  
Kevin Priebus

↳

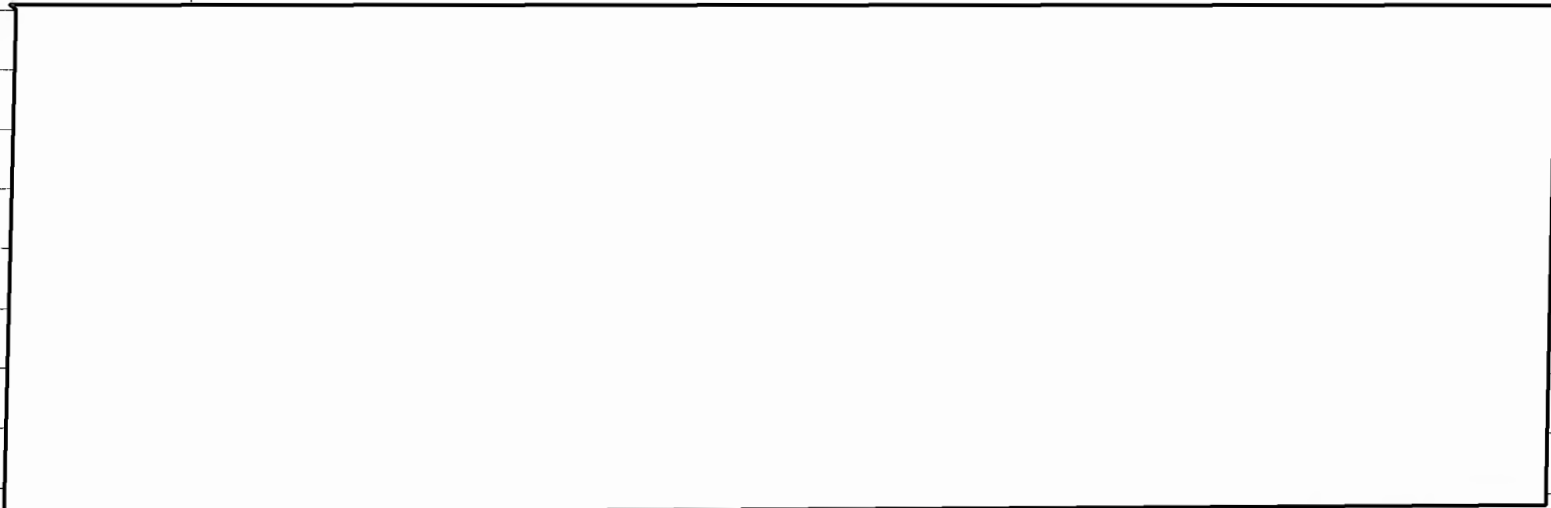
b6  
b7C

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C



b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C



ppl starting to get nervous b/c whole Russia thing.  
scrutiny on Sessions, Dearborn.

POTUS. Comey: no awareness from P directly.  
~~he~~ wondered if POTUS would really come in  
and clean up agencies, not spec. to Comey.  
not enough Trump loyalists to fill positions.



not out of convos on keeping Comey ~~in~~.

[redacted] either. Surprised he actually fired Comey.  
POTUS doesn't actually fire ppl.

b6  
b7C

Sessions refusal. POTUS nvr? <sup>heard</sup> apoplectic; pissed.  
heard P wasn't consulted. done by McAbn &  
Sessions. Heard from [redacted] Dearborn. Not sure if  
[redacted] Gates. People.

b6  
b7C

POTUS anger, because not consulted. Thought would have  
been okay if had been asked or notified first.

discussions on ppl needing to recuse before? no.  
Convos after the fact that Giuliani wouldn't  
have made same decision.

AG not supposed to be AG / <sup>PG</sup> was pick, but  
wanted Sec State instead.

Heard from:

[redacted] Dearborn, Parscale.

b6  
b7C

adv. knowledge of POTUS unhappy w/ Comey?

lack of relationship w/ Comey.

sensed something would happen.

[redacted]

Thought P was frustrated w/ a # of agencies,  
not just DOJ. Some tiff in the press.  
still harping on Clinton email thing.

b6  
b7C

POTUS: got to be fair, got to be equal.

not fair no one looking at Clinton.

heard from [redacted] Reince

POTUS new on:

Russia inv. attack legitimacy of russia. V. frustrated

talk to anyone in wtt re: fermentation?  
day of, [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

- no convos leading up.
- V. few ppl aware of it when someone was actually fired.
- humorous that Schulte delivered letter how Trump operates.
- aware there were questions about HUK talk. one time to sent Stephen Miller across room to work with lawyers to sue RNC.
- thought DOJ needed to write letter, Trump had some input in letter.
- some question of whether RR wanted to write letter.

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Comey -

on news. Trump Hotel.

mtgs that evening? No ... maybe a dinner.

b6  
b7C

1 1/2 days in town.

after the fact - convos based on news.

more info came out,

Lester Holt

not surprised.

Russia thing & its height.

Sessions being picked on

Why isn't Hillary being investigated.

POTUS express frustration to [ ] you.

b6  
b7C

but don't remember discussing Comey

Sessions? don't remember convos [ ] related

but frustrated w/ Sessions after refusal.

Turning pt in relationship.

Should have talked to POTUS about it.

Rumor mill: Comey would be fired. Like Reince & Bannon.  
Reporters, rumor mill

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

b6  
b7C

after refusal, Trump on a warpath, said would fire, didn't follow through.

2 or 3 layers of haggling

~~Trump~~ picked back up again fall.

after indictment, most people I talked to kept their distance.

talk to Dearborn? no. not as much comms when Paul left.

around March, antich out, less frequent.

Pardons—

heard from

aware of efforts to float poss. of pardon?

no direct overture by anyone inside

Manafort alluded to convos w/ Dowd.

PM clear may not happen soon, but "hang tough" we'll get through this.

Right before plea. Plea from Paul to dissuade conversation, cooperation.

didn't believe he was talking to who he said he was.

From PM

Poss. of pardon came up couple months after indictment.

Stories re: corrupt FBI, DOJ

PM said having convos w/ Dowd.

PM's atty having convos w/ Dowd.

Oct/Nov

• Sep/Oct 2017

2 convos, PM rep info from Kenn<sup>PM</sup>, Dowd • Jan 2018

Paul, & said he and Kenn talked to Dowd.

↳ January, February 2018 week of plea.

JPA? No.

~~Manafort~~

Oct/Nov

Sep/Oct.

RG → PM convo.

Broad, PM indicated we'd get through it, trumped up charges, BS, we'll figure it out, more to come sense PM was saying - don't plead.

Nunes report is coming, going to be some bombshells.

PM said had talked to Dowd, start a legal defense fund, didn't say if talk. Dowd mentioned Nunes

Jan 2018. CNN leaked plea agreement reached mid-Jan 2018.  
Paul told RG ppl were worried it was true. (RG called proactively.)  
RG called Paul and said was not true.  
Paul told RG that PM told Dowd it was not true.  
Info was inaccurate.

I talked to Dowd. I've covered you at the WH.  
legl defense fund is coming. Going to take care  
of US.

2 funds - ① Patriot defense funds - WH ppl.

② anyone out of WH. PM & RG #1 & #2 on  
list.

PM: stupid to plea now. get a better deal down  
the road

PM in contact w/ Dowd. "sit tight". "we'll be taken  
care of." Never mentioned pardon. RG asked, PM  
said no one said the word.

\$

week of  
Feb 20

day before plea. (Thurs.)

LEF

PM called RG. Tone - stick to your guns we'll get  
through this.

On phone w/ Dowd. POTUS walked into room  
while they were on the phone & said "stay  
strong." we'll get through this.

Jared sent emails of support. Since they were recent.

"if I was with you, I could show you"

no basis to trust Paul.

designed to get RG not to plea.

RG. had already made decision.

Support.  
support for  
"US"

b6  
b7c

Knowing Paul, seemed like a Mack. Talks big game, no confidence info was true.

[redacted]

→ listened on call  
Friday.

b6  
b7C

no notes. PM did not know that others were listening.

Texts from PM re: bail; making sure RG cleaned up articles re plea,

→ day of plea, PM called, went through last minute appeal not to plea. legal defense fund.

↖ Last time talked to PM.

Text from PM: congrats on getting rid of GPS.

PM said  
on one of the calls (earlier) Potvin said he was 'watching their case'

Potvin asked about RG in press & had no response. Surprised. Thought P would have gone after him.

ss

No indication PM knew RG was going to plead that day. MM

Source of info for reporting re: detail on RG going back & forth on plea?

[redacted] ? RG told him about his indecision  
RG didn't talk to press about it.

Manafort didn't know.

CNN reporter friend of [redacted] but [redacted] didn't have detail.

b6  
b7C

@ any time, hear from WH info re: DJS firing Mueller?  
No. Nothing behind the scenes.

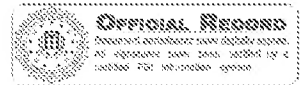
Always more about Sessions than Mueller.

Not even Manafort saying he talked to anyone about it.

Sessions → [ ] shift convo. In an article  
Sessions fire Rod, then replace. In an article,

b6  
b7c





## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/28/2018

Michael Dean Cohen, date of birth [REDACTED] was telephonically interviewed in the presence of his attorneys Guy Petrillo and Amy Lester from the law offices of Petrillo Klein & Boxer LLP, 655 Third Avenue, New York, NY. Participating in the interview were FBI Special Agent (SA) [REDACTED] Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel James L. Quarles, and Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Andrew D. Goldstein. Also present from the Special Counsel's Office were SASC Jeannie S. Rhee and Assistant Special Counsel L. Rush Atkinson. The interview was conducted under the same proffer agreement as previous interviews. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agent, Cohen provided the following information:

b6  
b7C

The concept of the "party line" and staying "on message" existed within the Trump Organization during the campaign. During the campaign, when it was reported that [then-Candidate] Donald Trump had ties to Russia, the party line was that Trump had no business in Russia. Trump created the message when he stated had no business in Russia and no relationships in Russia. Trump created that party line when he said he had nothing to do with Russia and had no deals. It became the talking point for others to follow.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 11/20/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (Phone)File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 11/25/2018by [REDACTED]b6  
b7C  
b7E

[redacted]

[redacted]

(U) Interview of Michael Cohen (telephonic  
Continuation of FD-302 of /11.20.2018) . On 11/20/2018 . Page 2 of 7

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] he should stay on message [redacted]  
[redacted] and everything would be fine.

In January 2017, after the dossier was made public, [redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]  
[redacted] Cohen told Trump he had never been to Prague [redacted]  
[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted] the JDA was working well together and that things  
would end soon.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

When Cohen first received letters from Congress [redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]  
[redacted] The initial focus of Congress'  
inquiry was the dossier. Cohen did not have any concern about the dossier

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7E

(U) Interview of Michael Cohen (telephonic  
Continuation of FD-302 of /11.20.2018) . On 11/20/2018 . Page 3 of 7

allegations, [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Cohen had never been to Prague or

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(U) Interview of Michael Cohen (telephonic  
Continuation of FD-302 of /11.20.2018) . On 11/20/2018 . Page 4 of 7

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

if they stayed on message, the investigation had to come to an end soon,

[REDACTED]

that as a part of the JDA, Cohen was protected, which he would not be if he "went rogue." At that time, Cohen's legal bills were being paid by the Trump Organization.

Trump Tower Moscow first came up when a couple of reporters sent questions about it to Cohen. Cohen's concern when the questions came in was that the answers may not be consistent with the message. [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

Cohen said the statement that Trump never considered traveling was false and he put it in the letter to be consistent with the message. He was sensitive to the idea of Trump traveling to Russia because he wanted to say there was no connection between Trump and Russia. He was protecting Trump and did not want to contradict anything Trump said. Cohen was being loyal. [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

Cohen did not remove from the letter the line that said he had "limited contact with Russian officials" and he did not know who did. He thought it had to be someone from the JDA team. [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] it was the  
decision of the JDA to take it out, and Cohen did not push back.

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED]

(U) Interview of Michael Cohen (telephonic  
Continuation of FD-302 of /11.20.2018) . On 11/20/2018 . Page 5 of 7

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] Cohen did tell Sekulow that he would not  
contest a decision of the JDA.

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

Sekulow and Cohen spoke on the telephone extensively on August 27, 2017, the day before the Trump Tower Moscow letter was submitted to Congress. Cohen told Sekulow there was more detail on Trump Tower Moscow, and Sekulow told him to keep it short and tight and the matter would soon come to an end. Sekulow told Cohen that "his client," referring to Trump, wanted Cohen to cooperate and appreciated him.

Cohen told Sekulow there were details out there that weren't in the letter [REDACTED] Cohen said there were more b5 per DOJ/OIP  
communications with Russia and more communications with Trump than were reflected and Sekulow responded that it was not necessary to elaborate or include those details because the transaction did not take place. Sekulow said there was no need to muddy the water. Sekulow said to stay on message and to not over elaborate. Sekulow said it did not matter and Cohen should not contradict Trump and that it was time to move on. Cohen agreed, because it was what he was expected to do.

Cohen vaguely recalled telling Sekulow that he had a call with a woman from the Kremlin, but he did not tell him specifically the length of the conversation or the sum and substance of her questions. Sekulow's response was in line with "so what" and the deal never happened.

Cohen recalled specifically speaking to Trump about the call with Peskov's office, close in time to when the call happened in early 2016. Cohen told Trump he spoke with a woman from the Kremlin who had asked specific and great questions about Trump Tower Moscow, and that he wished Trump Organization had assistants that were that good and competent. [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] described her as "someone from the Kremlin." After that call, and a subsequent call with Felix Sater, Cohen recalled he told Trump he was waiting to hear back from them.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(U) Interview of Michael Cohen (telephonic  
Continuation of FD-302 of /11.20.2018) . On 11/20/2018 . Page 6 of 7

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

Cohen attempted to follow the example set by Jared Kushner by publicly releasing the letter during his Congressional testimony, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] Sekulow had also commented to Cohen that Trump was happy with how things had gone with Kushner.

Cohen and Sekulow spoke on the telephone on September 20, 2017 [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Sekulow mentioned that Trump was pleased with the Trump Tower Moscow statement that had gone out.

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(U) Interview of Michael Cohen (telephonic  
Continuation of FD-302 of /11.20.2018) . On 11/20/2018 . Page 7 of 7

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Cohen asked Sekulow about pardons after the news reported those discussions were happening at the White House. He was not sure of the timing, but it was after the raids at his home and office. [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

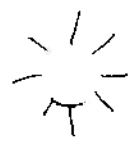
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Cohen said he'd been a loyal lawyer and servant and all of a sudden he was the subject of search and seizure. Cohen said it was an uncomfortable position to be in and wanted to know what was in it for him. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

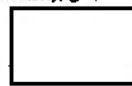
b6  
b7C

(1)



Michael Cohen  
Amy Lister  
Guy Petillo

11/20/18  
(telephonic)

JLR JSR  
ADG LRA  


b6  
b7c

proffer agreement in effect

ADG: be truthful.

distinguish between memory and think you remember.

Cohen: understood

party line. staying on message. when did it first come up, become subject of discussion?



A: msg existed prior to atty conversations

Rec'd notice to appear before House/Senate

decided would read statement, release

before hearing, message during JDA:

don't elaborate, stay on message, everything

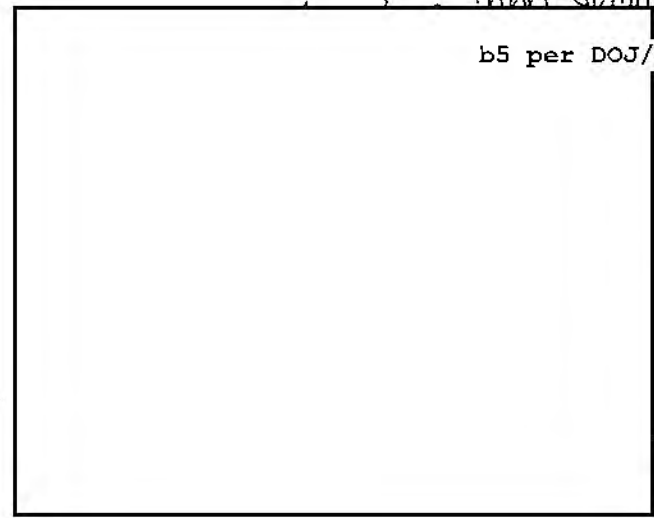
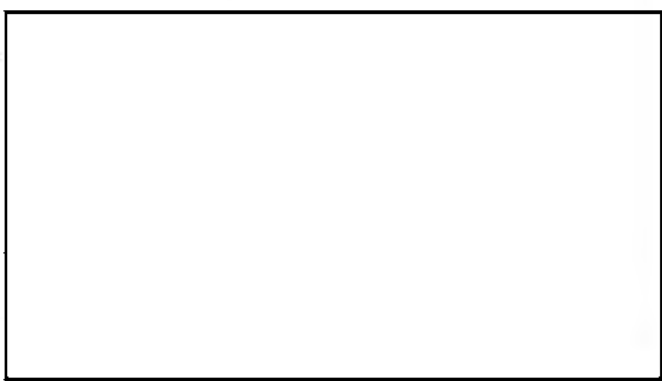
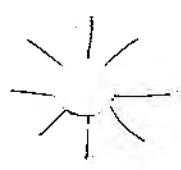
fine.

ph JDA  
when did msg first come up?  
before det. issues w/ Trump. Russia he said he had no business.

no relationship  
that was when msg was first created.  
~~Summer 2016~~  
substantially earlier than Summer

no relationship to Russia, etc goes back to campaign.

b5 per DOJ/OIP





(2)

party line created by Mr. Trump. Many mos. before election. Interviews, rallies. "I have nothing to do w/Russia, no deals, etc" Became the talking point, narrative that was put out by Mr. Trump.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

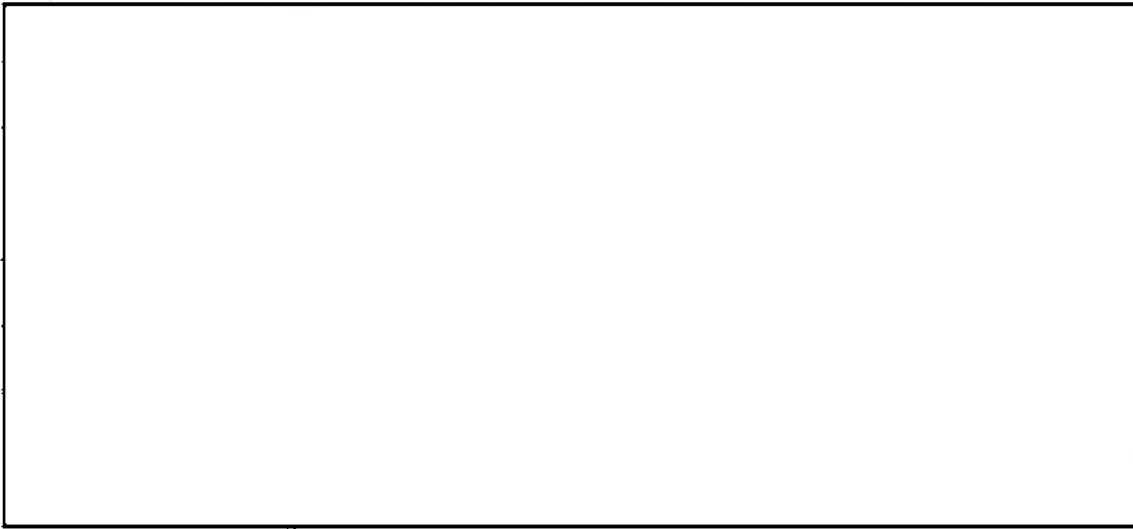
[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

3



b5 per DOJ/OIP



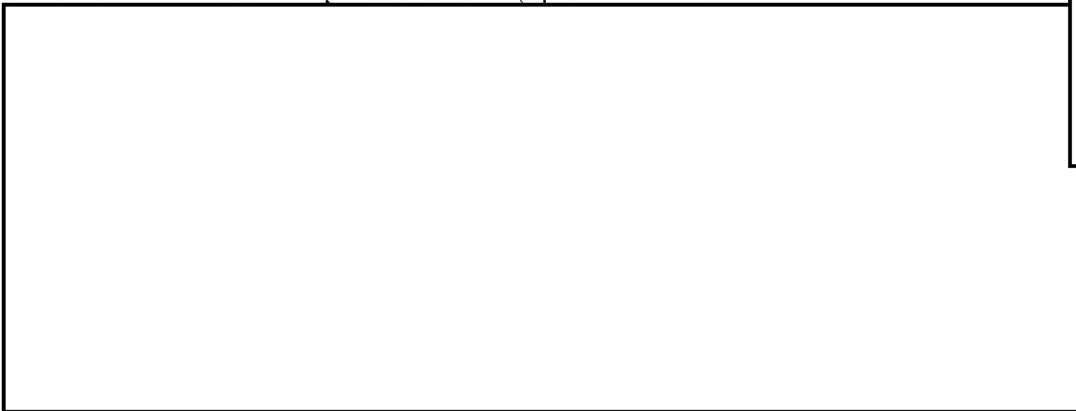
P loves you. Has your back.

JDA working well together. This will  
end soon. things like that.



b5 per DOJ/OIP

May 9, May 12 Congress letters



b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

focus of their inquiry? dossier.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

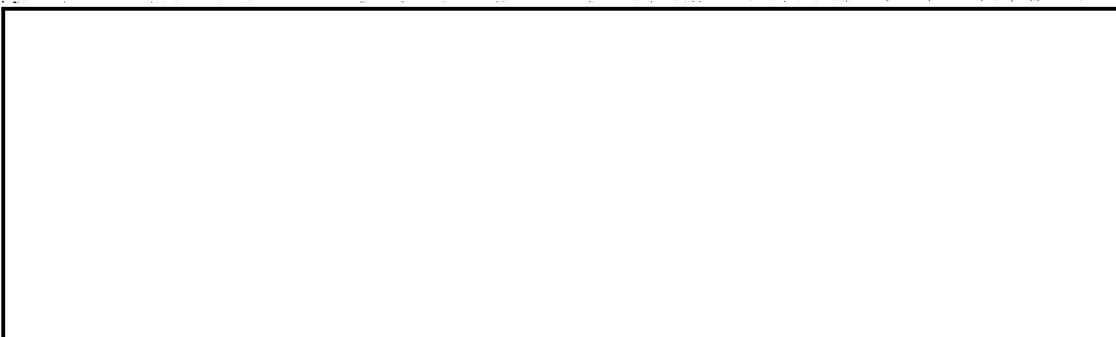
any concern about dossier allegations? No.



b6  
b7C



b6  
b7C



b5 per DOJ/OIP



b5 per DOJ/OIP



5

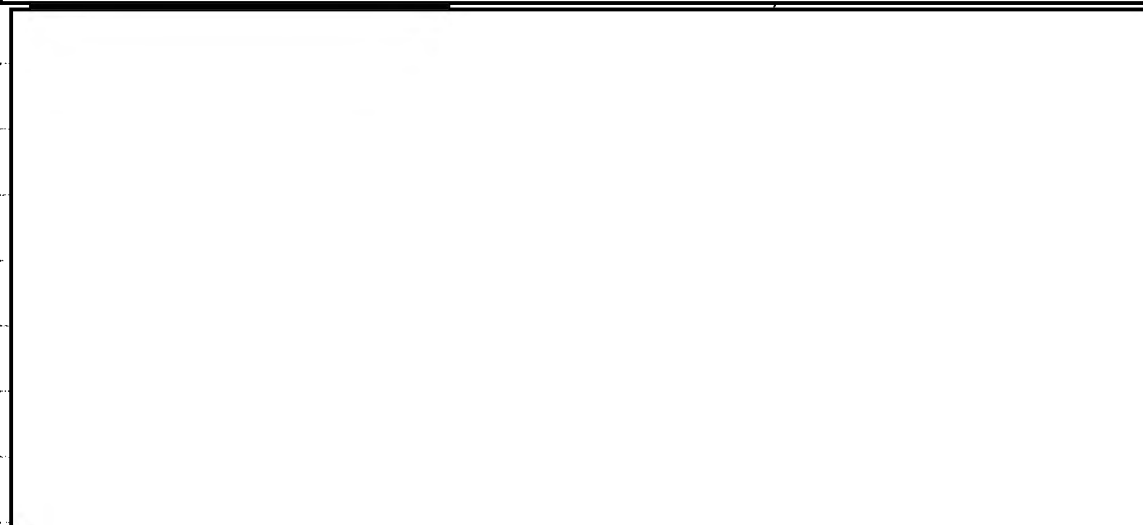
b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C



b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C



b5 per DOJ/OIP



Part of JDA

you're protected, vs. going rogue.

legal bills paid by Trump Org.

Jay: as we stay on message, this has to come to an end, there's nothing here Report will show that.

(9)

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

TRM comes up. what put TRM on the ~~radar~~<sup>ra</sup>dar?  
Think there was a couple of reporters,  
~~asking~~ asking Qs about it. Had sent  
Qs to get answered. When you  
started getting questions, to Cohen.  
did you have concerns? worried it would  
not be consistent w/message.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

when does the TRM letter come up? in connection w/  
press inquiries.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

(7)  
b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

"Trump never considered traveling." False.  
Where did statement come from? He left it  
out to be consistent with message.  
Why sensitive about travel? trying to distance

POTUS, no Russian connection. To protect P.  
didn't want to contradict. Being legal.

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

"Limited contact w Russian officials"  
did not remove it, don't know who did.

JDA team. don't know who

Talk about it?

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

Decision

b6  
b7C

of JDA to take it out. Push back? No.

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

Did tell

Jay - if that's the decision of the JDA,  
not going to contest it.

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

day before letter submitted, lots of  
calls w/ Sekulow.

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

Cohen told Jay there was more detail, but Jay  
said to keep it short, tight, matter coming to  
an end. Client wants you to cooperate & appreciate it.

back/forth w/Jay. There are details out there that aren't in the letter.

<sup>express</sup> Concern about leaving them out? yes, told him there were more details, comms w/Russia, comms w/POTUS. Jay: just not necessary. no point in elaborating. no need to include b/c xaction did not take place. why muddy the water

↳ more contacts w/Russia.

↳ not just 3 comms, there were more

Jay: just stay on msg. don't over-elaborate. it doesn't matter.

don't contradict the President. Time to move on.

"Okay" what I was expected to say

b5 per DOJ/OIP



b6  
b7C

9/19/17

public statement. in adv. of statement, discussions?

I was following what Kushner had done. release statement prior to conclusion of hearing.

b5 per DOJ/OIP





b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Jay also commented P was happy w/ how  
it went w/ Kushner.

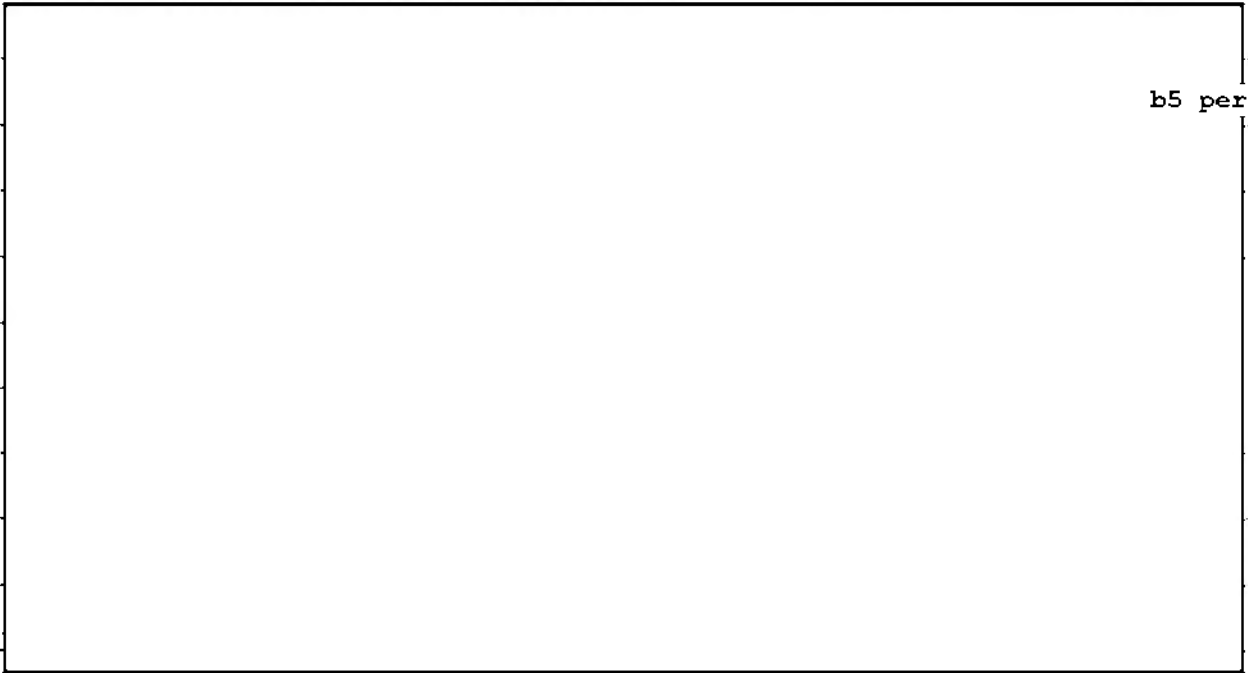
[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]



- told Skullov <sup>there were</sup> other details. ~~Some~~ did you tell him anything specific about call w/ Peskov's office? vaguely recall telling him about call w/ woman from Kremlin. no specifics on length of call, sum/substance of Qs. Response: SD what? deal never happened...

talk to POTUS? ~~don't recall~~. yeah, actually I did. Much earlier. Said I spoke to this woman who asked specific / great questions. wish we had assts that good, competent timing? close in time to call. describe her? not in title or name, but "someone from Kremlin".

10

after that, call w/Saker, waiting to see who would  
call back...

talking to DJT at the time → say waiting to  
hear back? yes.

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

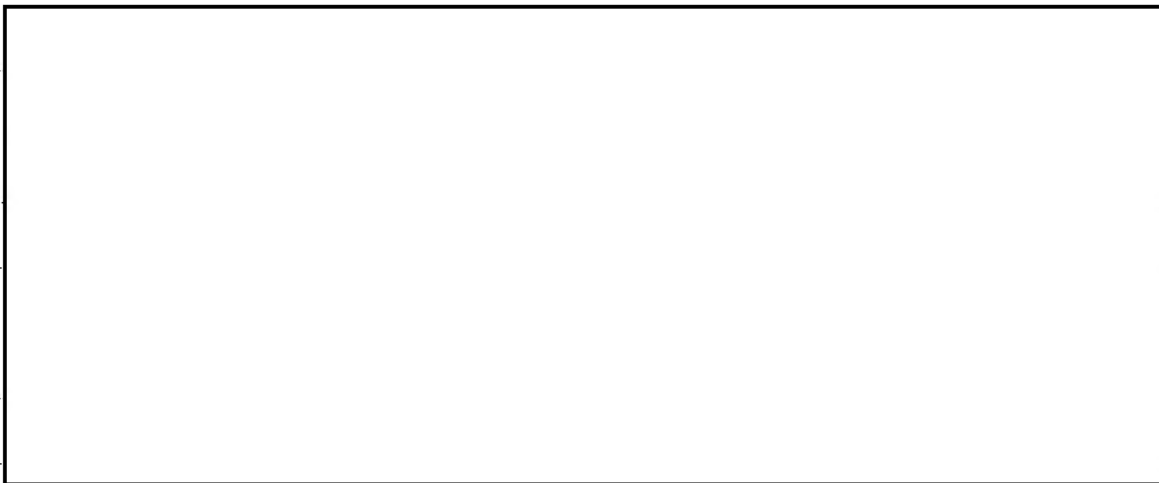
pardons / pre-pardons.

Mc. asked b/c news orgs referred to it,

"what about me?"

when? after the raid.

convs before were about testimony etc.

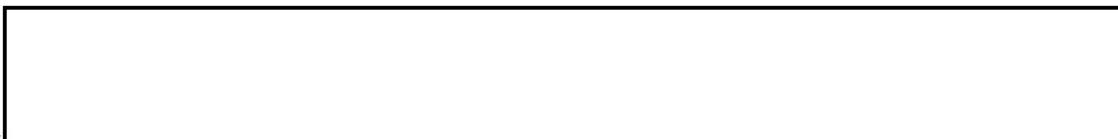


b5 per DOJ/OIP

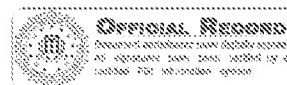
Here I've been this loyal lawyer smart  
all of a sudden I'm subject of search &  
surre. uncomfortable posn to be in.  
What's in it for me?



b5 per DOJ/OIP



b6  
b7C



## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 08/14/2018

General (Ret) John Kelly, White House Chief of Staff, was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC.

Participating in the interview were FBI Special Agent (SA) [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel James L. Quarles III, and Senior Assistant Special Counsel Andrew Goldstein. Also present for the interview was Emmet T. Flood, Special Counsel to the President. Kelly inquired as to whether he was a subject, target, or witness in the Special Counsel's Office investigation and was informed he was a witness. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, Kelly provided the following information:

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Kelly did not speak to anyone about the article [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 08/02/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 08/06/2018

by [REDACTED]b6  
b7C  
b7E

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(U) Interview of White House Chief of Staff John Kelly . On 08/02/2018 . Page 2 of 8

Continuation of FD-302 of

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] Kelly did not speak to Don McGahn about the article when it came out, and he did not tell anyone he had done so.

Kelly recalled a conversation with the President and McGahn in the Oval Office where they discussed the article. [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

In the Oval Office meeting, the President asked if McGahn had seen and read the article and told McGahn that he did not recall any discussion about firing Mueller. [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] Kelly described the conversation as "a little tense." [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The President may have asked McGahn to correct the record, but McGahn was insistent that it had happened the way he remembered. The President said it was not the way he remembered it. Kelly assumed "correct the record" meant for McGahn to call the New York Times to correct the story.

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

After the meeting in the Oval Office, McGahn and Kelly went to Kelly's office [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] but knew McGahn was insistent that he and the President "did have that conversation." [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Kelly and the President did not discuss the Oval Office meeting after the fact. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

(U) Interview of White House Chief of  
Continuation of FD-302 of Staff John Kelly . On 08/02/2018 . Page 3 of 8

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Kelly reviewed a copy of his notes bearing Bates stamp WH000017684, dated Monday, 5 Feb 2018. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] The notes read in part: "POTUS - Don McGahn letter - Mueller + resigning." [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] He did not recall what the notes meant. Kelly did not recall whether the President asked McGahn to write a letter. He thought the President may have "mused" about it. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(U) Interview of White House Chief of  
Staff John Kelly

Continuation of FD-302 of \_\_\_\_\_, On 08/02/2018, Page 4 of 8

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP



[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(U) Interview of White House Chief of  
Continuation of FD-302 of Staff John Kelly , On 08/02/2018 , Page 5 of 8

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of White House Chief of  
Continuation of FD-302 of Staff John Kelly , On 08/02/2018 , Page 6 of 8

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(U) Interview of White House Chief of  
Continuation of FD-302 of Staff John Kelly

. On 08/02/2018 . Page 7 of 8

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Lewandowski and the President still spoke and were close. Kelly described  
Lewandowski as a "devotee" of the President. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Kelly tried not to be there when the  
President had meetings with friends. Kelly tried to push meetings with  
friends and with the President's legal team to the Residence to create  
distance from the West Wing.

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

FD-302a (Rev. 05-08-10)

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of White House Chief of  
Staff John Kelly

Continuation of FD-302 of \_\_\_\_\_, On 08/02/2018, Page 8 of 8

John Kelly

— Emmett Flood

8/2/2018

PP

18 USC 1001

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

FBI(19cv1278)-550

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

had not talked to anyone about article

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

tell anyone you talked to DM? No, don't think so.

[REDACTED]

POTD's asked  
1st time in Oval Office - not in Oval Office  
to specifically about this

don't recall convo. (not that it didn't happen)

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

What did P say.

- had DM seen/read article? don't recall any discussion re: Aring RSM.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

~ little tense

Don pushed back

P ask DM to do anything? May have asked Don to correct record. But Don said it had happened.

JK: assume correct record meant call NYT

POTUS said was not the way I remember it.

DM & JK finished mtg. went to COS office.

[redacted]

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

didn't talk to P about exchange after.

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

"we did have that conversation."

told [REDACTED] in his office after the mtg

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]



[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

5 Feb

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

did P ask you to ask Don to write a letter?

no recollection of it. may have mused about it.

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

FBI(19cv1278)-554

[redacted]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Lewand

[REDACTED]

devotee of

POTUS.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

try not to be

there where POTUS has meetings w/ friends.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

try to push friends meetings to Residence.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Monday 5 Feb 2018

Notes

Don McGowan letter  
- Miller + resigning

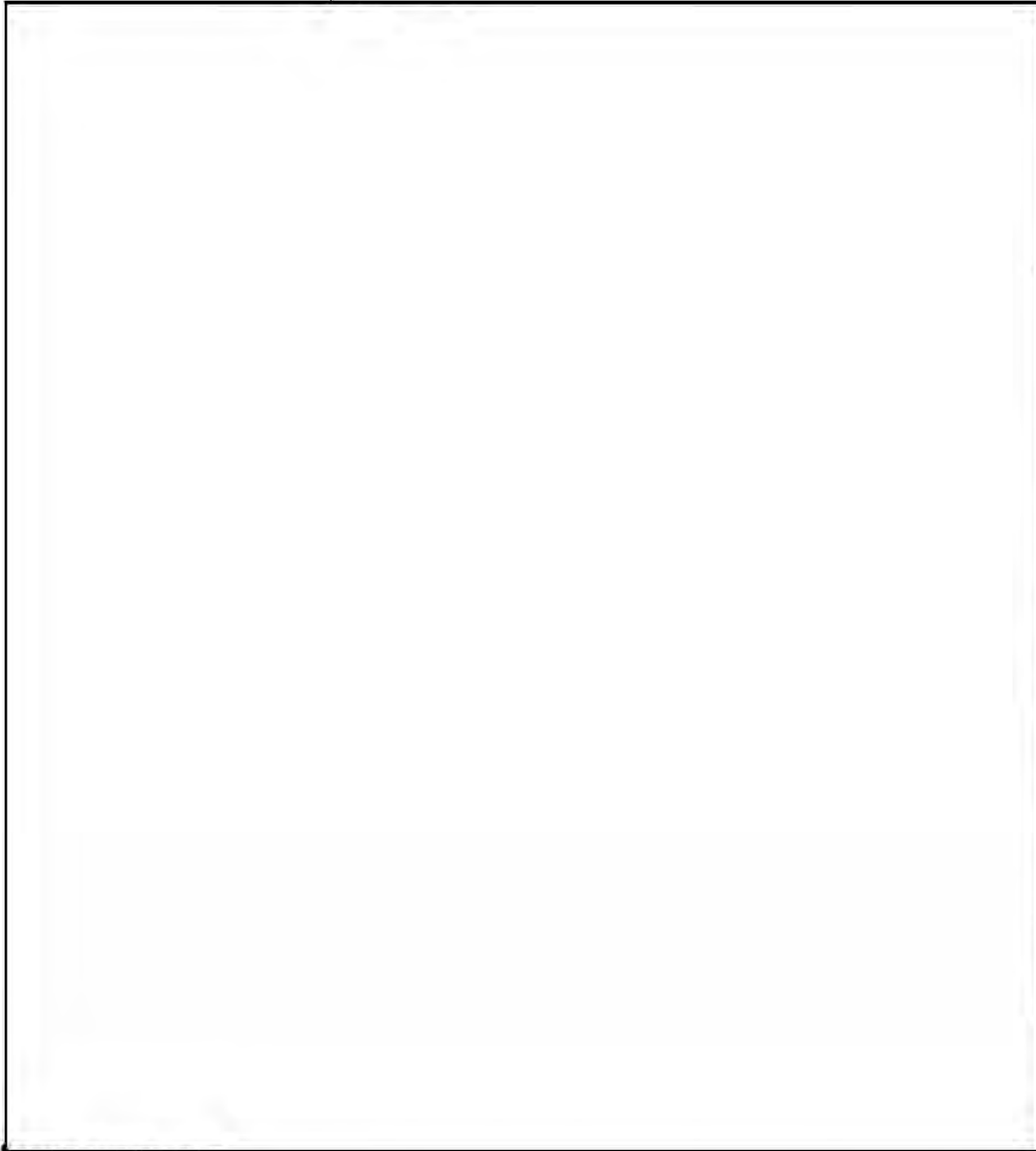
b5 per DOJ/OIP

WH000017684

Tuesday 6 February 2017

Don

• Middle Discussion in  
Term



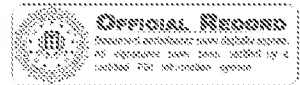
b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

W40000017685



## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION



Date of entry 06/11/2018

HOPE CHARLOTTE HICKS was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, located at 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC. Hicks was accompanied by her attorneys, [REDACTED] Present for the interview were Supervisory Special Agent (SSA) [REDACTED] Special Agent (SA) [REDACTED] FBI Intelligence Analyst [REDACTED] [REDACTED] James L. Quarles, Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel; Andrew Goldstein, Senior Assistant Special Counsel; Michael Dreeben, Counselor to the Special Counsel; and Elizabeth Prelogar, Assistant Special Counsel. Hicks was advised it is a crime to lie to the FBI in the course of an investigation, which she acknowledged. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, Hicks provided the following information:

b6  
b7C**Press Reporting Regarding June 9, 2016 Meeting in Trump Tower:**

The morning of Thursday, June 22, 2017, Hicks joined a meeting between President Donald Trump, Jared Kushner, and Ivanka Trump (hereinafter Ivanka) in the White House Residence. [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] Kushner had a manila folder with documents with him and said to the President that they had found one thing that the President should know about, but it was not a big deal. Kushner said he, Donald Trump, Jr (hereinafter Junior) and Paul Manafort had attended a meeting during the campaign and started to open the folder when the President stopped him and said he did not want to know about it. [REDACTED]

Hicks speculated Kushner's folder had emails in it regarding the referenced meeting Junior, Kushner, and Manafort participated in, [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

The following Wednesday, June 28, 2017, Kushner asked Hicks and Josh Raffel to go to the offices of [REDACTED] to review

b6  
b7C

Investigation on 03/13/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 04/02/2018

by [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7E

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks , On 03/13/2018 , Page 2 of 18

documents [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] Hicks was shocked by the emails concerning the meeting she and Raffel reviewed in [REDACTED] office. She thought they looked really bad.

b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

On June 29, 2017, Hicks, Kushner, and Ivanka met with the President in his dining room to talk about the emails. Hicks' initial reaction was that they should get in front of the emails. She wanted Junior to do an interview with "softball questions" to get the emails out there. [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] Kushner responded it was not a big deal, just a meeting about Russian adoption. Kushner reminded the President he had previously mentioned a meeting, and the President said he did not want to

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks . On 03/13/2018 , Page 3 of 18

know about it. The President said they should not do anything, asked why so many people had the emails, and said they needed to let the lawyers deal with it. [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] Hicks told the President "this is going to be a massive story." She was not sure if she told him the emails were "really bad" in that meeting. The President did not want to talk about it and did not want details. [REDACTED]

When Hicks told the President the story would be "massive", he asked Kushner when his (Kushner) document production was due. Kushner told him it would be a couple of weeks. The President said, "then leave it alone."

b5 per DOJ/OIP

On July 7, 2017, Hicks was in her hotel room in Germany having a discussion with Kushner and Ivanka about a story the New York Times (NYT) was working on related to the [June 9, 2016] meeting [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

The following day, July 8, 2017, while at the G-20 summit, Hicks told Trump about the NYT story related to the meeting. [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] The President said not to comment. [REDACTED]

Hicks and the President had a follow on conversation later that day, after a session in the G-20. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The President b5 Per DOJ/OIP asked what the meeting was about. Hicks told him Kushner and Junior had told her the meeting was about Russian adoption. The President said words to the effect of, "then just say that" and dictated what she should say. [REDACTED]



Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks, On 03/13/2018, Page 4 of 18

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

When they got on the airplane, Hicks called Garten to get an update. He texted Hicks the statement Junior wanted to provide to the media. She took that to the President's cabin and read him Junior's statement. He told her they should not respond. Hicks advocated for providing the whole story. The President did not say what was wrong with Junior's statement, but just felt they were giving the media too much

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks, On 03/13/2018, Page 5 of 18

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks, On 03/13/2018, Page 6 of 18

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

After meeting with Trump about Junior's statement, Hicks returned to a seat and started texting with Junior. They worked on the statement for a period and ultimately settled on the statement that went to the press. [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] Priebus already knew about the emails. They decided they should let Trump know that Priebus knew about the emails, so Hicks went to Trump's cabin and notified him. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks , On 03/13/2018 , Page 7 of 18

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] She went upstairs to Trump's cabin and when she got there, he was already on the phone with Kasowitz. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Almost immediately after Hicks entered Trump's cabin, Trump handed the phone to Hicks. Kasowitz asked her what she was doing and told her his team was working with Circa News on a story that would blow the Russia investigation wide open. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

He told Hicks not to talk to the NYT. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks , On 03/13/2018 , Page 8 of 18

b5 per DOJ/OIP

The plane landed and Hicks went back to the White House. When she arrived, she called Corallo to tell him she was upset about the Circa News article.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

She told him Trump had not approved the statement.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks, On 03/13/2018, Page 9 of 18

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Throughout Hicks' conversations with Trump, it was clear to her Trump did not think the emails would get out. Hicks' impression was Trump meant the emails would not get out to the press, but he did not say that explicitly.

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Hicks did not believe the emails would never get out, nor did she express that to anyone. She knew Trump thought the emails would not get out to the press. On the call with Corallo, if Corallo thought she said otherwise, it was because she either expressed Trump's belief or that Corallo was confused and Trump, rather than Hicks, said the emails would not get out to the press. However, Hicks had no recollection of such a discussion with Corallo. [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks, On 03/13/2018, Page 10 of 18

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] Trump thought Sessions' recusal from the Russia investigation was an act of disloyalty to Trump.

On July 19, 2017, Hicks had a conversation with Corey Lewandowski about a NYT interview Trump had done that day. [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP  
conversation that Trump had asked him to go see Sessions and tell him to resign, and that he needed to do the right thing and step aside. At that point, the Senate was about to go into recess, so it was possible Trump could get a new Attorney General through a recess appointment. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks, On 03/13/2018, Page 11 of 18

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

January 25, 2018 New York Times article:

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] Then Trump spoke on the phone with [Chief of Staff John] Kelly, who said that McGahn totally refuted the story and was going to put out a statement. [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

The day after the article came out, January 26, 2018, [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP  
[REDACTED] He asked Sanders to call McGahn, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP



Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks, On 03/13/2018, Page 12 of 18

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks, On 03/13/2018, Page 13 of 18

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b6  
b7C

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b6  
b7C

[Redacted] b6  
b7C

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b7E

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks , On 03/13/2018 , Page 14 of 18

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks, On 03/13/2018, Page 15 of 18

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks , On 03/13/2018 , Page 16 of 18

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] Trump said something along  
the lines of Gates needing to keep an eye on Manafort. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks, On 03/13/2018, Page 17 of 18

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP  
b6 |  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks, On 03/13/2018, Page 18 of 18

b5 Per DOJ/OIP  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP

### IC Findings on Election Interference

Trump thought the fact that the intelligence community assessed the Russians had interfered in the 2016 election was his Achilles heel. Even if it had no impact on the election, Trump thought that was what people would think. He thought the assessment took away from what he did.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Hope Hicks, 3/13/2018

b6  
b7C

FBI - [redacted]

SCC - Andrew Goldstein, Tim Quares, Michael Dreeben

Elizabeth  
Prelogar

Attorneys - [redacted]

- June 22<sup>nd</sup> meeting at Residence (Thursday morning)

- JTK ~~→ says~~

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- JTK - manilla folder of documents

- one thing we found that should know about, not a big deal

- Don, Karl and I meeting

(-> DDT → didn't want to know about it

b5 per DOJ/OIP

→ went to open his manilla folder

- Speculating what folder contained emails

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- following Wed

- asked to go to [redacted]

Office [redacted]

b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP



[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

reentered b6  
b7C

being checked by emails just received

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

- 29th

- Jared, Ivanka, HHA w/ DJT
- initial reaction to emails → get in front of → Dan Jr.  
do an ~~int~~ interview w/ softball questions

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- researcher (JK) told you about meeting → DJT  
said didn't want to know about it
- DJT said don't do anything → why do  
some people have emails → let lawyers  
deal w/

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- told DT → "this is going to be a massive story"
- not sure said "these emails are really bad"  
during this meeting
- DT didn't want to talk about it, didn't want  
to know

- let lawyers take care of it

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- DT → in response to HH being big story

- asked JK when his document production was

- couple weeks

- then leave it alone

- meeting in  
dining room

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- next convo w/ DT → in Germany

- on 7/7

- convo w/ JK and Ivanka

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- G20 Summit (7/8)

- told DT about NYT story

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- DT → no comment

- after next sessia

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- talked to DT again

- DT asked what was meeting about

- took meeting to discuss Russian  
adoption → what JH told (H)

and Don Jr. b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6

- then just say that b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- second meeting

- told him -> and said to just say that (DT)

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- don't have original
- get on plane
  - called Alan Garten → looking for update
  - texted HH statement of what Jm wanted to give
  - walked into DT's cabin
  - what Jm planned to say as DT → just don't respond
  - HH said should give full story
  - DT didn't say what was wrong w/ statement
  - just felt like giving media too much

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- knew what email said on 6/28

- on 6/29

b5 per DOJ/OIP

←  
in dining  
room

- DT → what are you talking about

- JK → it's not a big deal, it was just a meeting about Russian adoption

- don't remember DT responding or having a discussion about it

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

- after meeting w/ Trump → started texting w/ Jr.
- ~~has~~ interest from Jr. [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- meeting (brief) → Jr. asked Paul and TK to attend → Russian adoption

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

- statements were submitted

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

- Reince ~~knows~~ knows about emails
- needed to tell DT
- went back to DT's cabin

[REDACTED] Reince <sup>knows of</sup> ~~knows~~ the emails,

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP



[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

- went upstairs to DT's cabin
- already on phone w/ Kosowitz

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

- gave phone to Kosowitz - asked ~~to~~ HH what she was doing - his team working with Circu news on a story - blow Russia invest wide open
- told her not to talk to NYT

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

- gave phone to HH almost immediately
- hung up w/ Kosowitz

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

rafter landed → talked to Corallo

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

- flight landed

- cars back to WH

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

- get back to WH

- called <sup>Cernillo</sup> ~~Kennedy~~ → very upset

[redacted]

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- DT didn't approve statement

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

- throughout convos → clear DT didn't think ~~press would~~  
~~know content of~~ emails <sup>would get it</sup> or would see emails

- DT said many times → in context of press (4/4s impression)  
- DT didn't say that explicitly

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

- emails aren't going to get out
  - didn't believe or ~~to~~ expressed to anyone
  - knew DT believed wouldn't get out to press
  - on call w/ Corallo
    - either HHA expressing DT's belief or DT said emails wouldn't get out to press
    - but no recollection of it

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~DT~~ [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] FBI(19cv1278)-601

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- recusal from Russia invest was  
an act of disloyalty

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- convo w/ Corey Lewandowski → laughing about NYT  
article (7/19) → that night

- [redacted] DT asked him to go see Sessions

doubt  
thing and  
step into

← and tell him he should resign

- Senate recess was approaching, so could get  
a recess appointment

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

CPA

- DT on phone w/ Chief Kelly
- McGahn totally refutes story, going to put out a statement

b5 per DOJ/OIP

9

26<sup>th</sup>

- asked Stuchabee to call McGahn → said she would

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP



- Gates

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- DT said something like i got to keep an  
eye on Paul, make sure

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP

- IC ~~the~~ Bindings

- public facing → DT thinks its an achilles heel  
for him

- even if had no impact on election, he knows  
that's what ~~the~~ people will think  
-- takes away from what he did

UNCLASSIFIED

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Field Office Acquiring Evidence

Serial # of Originating Document

Date Received

3/13/2018

From

Hope Hicks

(Name of Contributor/Interviewee)

(Address)

(City and State)

By

SA

To Be Returned ☐ Yes

☒ No

Receipt Given ☐ Yes

☒ No

Grand Jury Material - Disseminate Only Pursuant to Rule 6 (e)  
Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure

☐ Yes

☒ No

Federal Taxpayer Information (FTI)

☐ Yes

☒ No

Title:

Reference:

Interview of Hope Hicks

(Communication Enclosing Material)

Description:

☐ Original notes re interview of

-document provided by Hicks

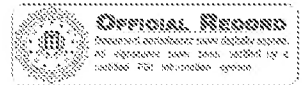
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## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 10/17/2018

Omarosa Manigault Newman, DOB: [REDACTED] was interviewed telephonically. Present for the telephonic interview were Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Andrew Goldstein, Assistant Special Counsel (ASC) Aaron Zelinsky, and Special Agents [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] Newman's attorney, John Phillips, was also present on the call. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the interview, Newman provided the following information:

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everyone on the campaign was "ecstatic"

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~b5~~ per DOJ/OIP

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Investigation on 08/23/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (Phone)

File #  Date drafted 10/16/2018

by

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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[redacted] ADG AZR [redacted]

08/29/2018

OMN

John Phillips

[redacted]

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[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

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Exempt from release

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]



**U.S. Department of Justice**  
*The Special Counsel's Office*  
Washington, D.C. 20530

January 18, 2019

William A. Burck, Esq.  
Quinn Emanuel  
1300 I Street, N.W.  
Suite 900  
Washington, D.C. 20005

Re: Stephen Bannon

Dear Counsel:

You have indicated that your client, Stephen Bannon (hereinafter "Client"), is interested in providing information to the government.

With respect to the meeting between the government, Client, and yourself on January 18, 2019 and testimony before the Grand Jury on January 18, 2019 (hereinafter "the meeting"), the government will be represented by individuals from the Special Counsel's Office and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The terms of this letter do not bind any office or component of the U.S. Department of Justice other than those identified in the preceding sentence. The following terms and conditions apply to the meeting:

(1) **THIS IS NOT A COOPERATION AGREEMENT.** Client has agreed to provide information to the government, and to respond to questions truthfully and completely. By receiving Client's proffer, the government does not agree to make any motion on Client's behalf or to enter into a cooperation agreement, plea agreement, immunity agreement or non-prosecution agreement with Client. The government makes no representation about the likelihood that any such agreement will be reached in connection with this meeting.

(2) Should Client be prosecuted, no statements made by Client during the meeting will be used against Client in the government's case-in-chief at trial or for purposes of sentencing, except as provided below.

(3) The government may use any statement made or information provided by Client, or on Client's behalf, in a prosecution for false statements, perjury, or obstruction of justice, premised on statements or actions during the meeting. The government may also use any such statement or information at sentencing in support of an argument that Client failed to provide truthful or complete information during the meeting, and, accordingly: (a) that under the United States Sentencing Guidelines, Client is not entitled to a downward adjustment for acceptance of responsibility pursuant to Section 3E1.1, or should receive an upward adjustment for obstruction

of justice pursuant to Section 3C1.1; and (b) that Client's conduct at the meeting is a relevant factor under 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a).

(4) The government may make derivative use of any statements made or other information provided by Client during the meeting. Therefore, the government may pursue any investigative leads obtained directly or indirectly from such statements and information and may use the evidence or information subsequently obtained therefrom against Client in any manner and in any proceeding.

(5) In any proceeding, including sentencing, the government may use Client's statements and any information provided by Client during or in connection with the meeting to cross-examine Client, to rebut any evidence or arguments offered on Client's behalf, or to address any issues or questions raised by a court on its own initiative.

(6) Neither this agreement nor the meeting constitutes a plea discussion or an attempt to initiate plea discussions. In the event this agreement or the meeting is later construed to constitute a plea discussion or an attempt to initiate plea discussions, Client knowingly and voluntarily waives any right Client might have under Fed. R. Evid. 410, Fed. R. Crim. P. 11(f), or otherwise, to prohibit the use against Client of statements made or information provided during the meeting.

(7) The government reserves the right to argue that neither this agreement nor the meeting constitutes the timely provision of complete information to the government concerning Client's involvement in an offense, within the meaning of Section 3E1.1(b) of the Sentencing Guidelines.

(8) If and when required to do so by a court, the government may disclose to the Probation Office or the court any statements and information provided by Client during the meeting.

(9) The government may disclose the fact of the meeting or the information provided by Client during the meeting to the extent the government determines in its sole discretion that disclosure would be in furtherance of its discharge of its duties and responsibilities or is otherwise required by law. Such disclosure includes disclosure to a local, state, federal, or foreign government office or agency, including but not limited to another prosecutor's office, if the recipient of the information agrees to abide by the relevant terms of this agreement.

(10) The terms and conditions set forth in this agreement extend, if applicable, to the continuation of the meeting on the dates that appear below.

(11) It is understood that this agreement is limited to the statements made by Client at the meeting and does not apply to any oral, written or recorded statements made by Client at any other time.

(12) This document embodies the entirety of the agreement between the government and Client to provide information and evidence. No other promises, agreements or understandings



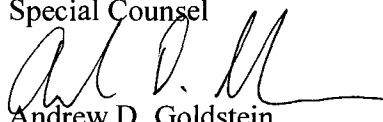
exist between Client and the government regarding Client's provision of information or evidence to the government.

(13) Client and Client's attorney acknowledge that they have read, fully discussed and understand every paragraph and clause in this document and the consequences thereof.

Dated: 1/18/2019

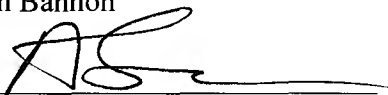
At: 12:55pm

ROBERT S. MUELLER, III  
Special Counsel

By:   
Andrew D. Goldstein  
Attorney  
Special Counsel's Office



Stephen Bannon



William A. Burck, Esq.  
Attorney for Client

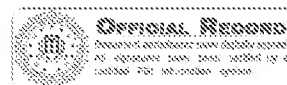
*Alex Spiro Esq.*

Dates of Continuation

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Initials of counsel, Client and government attorney

\_\_\_\_\_  
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\_\_\_\_\_

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## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/30/2017

Deputy Attorney General Rod J. Rosenstein, residing at [redacted] Maryland, government mobile [redacted] [redacted] main office telephone [redacted] was interviewed at the U. S. Department of Justice's Robert F. Kennedy Building, located at 950 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC. Present for this interview was Scott N. Schools, Associate Deputy Attorney General, direct office telephone [redacted] government mobile [redacted] [redacted] serving as Rosenstein's counsel. Having provided him with the identities of the interviewing agents and the reason for the interview, Rosenstein provided the following information:

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Rosenstein prefaced his interview with a caveat that attorneys of the Department of Justice have advised him not to discuss the content of any conversations with the President until the issue of privilege has been resolved.

**The Events of May 8, 2017**

On May 8, Rosenstein was summoned to a meeting at the White House Counsel's Office attended by Attorney General Jeff Sessions and White House Counsel Donald McGahn. The meeting was placed on his calendar and scheduled by Rosenstein's assistants. Rosenstein was not informed of the purpose of the meeting. Rosenstein held up a typed document he described as his written recollection of the details of the meeting and expressed his desire to share that recollection with interviewing agents. Rosenstein also referenced a stack of documents on the table beside him and indicated his interest in providing interviewing agents with copies.

Rosenstein was advised by Schools that neither the written materials, nor Rosenstein's recitation of what was discussed with any White House staff, should be provided to interviewing agents until the issue of privilege is resolved. Rosenstein's preference was to wait for Robert Mueller III, in his role as newly appointed Special Counsel, to engage the White House on the issue of

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Investigation on 05/23/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 05/25/2017

by [redacted]

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[REDACTED]  
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Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Rod Rosenstein , On 05/23/2017 , Page 2 of 11

privilege, then determine whether the documents, and his oral recounting of any meetings with the White House, should be provided to the FBI.

The May 8 meeting at the White House Counsel's Office started at noon and initially included only Rosenstein and McGahn. They were later joined by Attorney General Sessions and Sessions' Chief of Staff, Jody Hunt. At some point during the meeting, White House Chief of Staff Reince Priebus came into the room. This was the first time Rosenstein and Priebus had met. During this meeting the parties ordered lunch and ate in McGahn's office. Rosenstein authorized interviewing agents to consult his protection detail, staffed by the U.S. Marshals Service, in order to collect the exact time of the meeting. Rosenstein opined the meeting may have ended before 2:00 pm.

Rosenstein returned to the White House around 5:00 pm for a meeting at the Oval Office. This meeting was not scheduled on his calendar. This meeting "lasted probably less than an hour." Also present at the meeting were President Donald Trump, Uttam Dhillon, Sessions, McGahn, Priebus, Hunt, and a man he believed was John Eisenberg. At some point during the meeting, Vice President Michael Pence joined the meeting.

The Oval Office furniture was arranged with chairs in a semi-circle around the President's desk. Rosenstein was in one of those chairs. Behind the chairs was a couch, so Rosenstein cannot be certain whether others attended or departed.

Rosenstein said "I knew when I left Director Comey would be fired." During this meeting, Rosenstein was tasked to write a memorandum summarizing his concerns about former FBI Director Jim Comey, and was given a deadline of the following morning. When he left the meeting he felt tense because he did not have a lot of time to complete the memorandum, and he felt uncertain because he did not know its ultimate disposition. The memorandum had to be 100% accurate so he "could stand behind it." At the conclusion of this meeting, Rosenstein returned to his office and began to write his memorandum. Rosenstein remained at his office late and did not get much sleep that night.

When Rosenstein returned to his office, he informed his staff he had been tasked with writing the memorandum. Contemporaneously with Rosenstein's drafting of his memorandum, his staff drafted their own version. His staff included Chief of Staff and acting Principal Associate Deputy Attorney General James Crowell and Deputy Chief of

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[redacted]

Staff Zachary Terwilliger. Crowell and Terwilliger were the only individuals who saw Rosenstein's memorandum until the next morning (May 9) when he provided a copy to Schools.

When Crowell and Terwilliger completed their draft memorandum, they provided it to Rosenstein, who may have incorporated some of their language. [redacted]

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

On March 2, 2017, Rosenstein had lunch with [redacted] at [redacted]'s request. [redacted] was [redacted] in the 1970s under President Gerald Ford. Rosenstein shared Comey's public statements regarding the Clinton investigation with [redacted] and they discussed [redacted]

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[redacted] was "disappointed" in Comey's public statements and thought they were damaging to the Bureau and the Department of Justice.

Rosenstein remained in his office working on his memorandum until very late on May 8.

#### Events of May 9, 2017

Rosenstein returned to his office early on May 9 to finish the memorandum. On the morning of May 9, Rosenstein received two telephone calls from McGahn. Rosenstein did not do anything after either phone call as a result of whatever was discussed.

Around 10:00 or 10:30 am, Rosenstein provided a copy of his draft memorandum to Scott Schools, [redacted]

[redacted] Around noon, Crowell took a copy of Rosenstein's memorandum to Sessions. Crowell returned later that day with Rosenstein's memorandum bearing minor edits, (presumably made by Sessions), [redacted]

[redacted]

No one from outside the Department of Justice tried to influence Rosenstein's drafting of his memorandum.

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[REDACTED]  
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Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Rod Rosenstein , On 05/23/2017 , Page 4 of 11

Sessions did not see Rosenstein's memorandum until after 12:00 pm on May 9. Rosenstein was unsure whether Sessions wrote his memorandum before or after seeing Rosenstein's. Rosenstein did not see Sessions' memorandum until the following day.

Rosenstein and Sessions did not discuss whether Sessions should participate in Comey's termination. Rosenstein explained Sessions was recused from "the matter," not from managing the component.

Rosenstein was not sure how the White House would react to his memorandum because it was "not consistent with the President's comments" made during his campaign. According to Rosenstein, the President commended Comey about his handling of the Clinton e-mail investigation.

Rosenstein assumed and expected the President or Attorney General, or possibly Rosenstein himself as Deputy Attorney General, would contact former Director Comey to schedule a meeting to inform him of his removal. Rosenstein expected it to happen soon because the termination was imminent.

Rosenstein contemplated his memorandum would one day be released to the public but had not expected it to be released immediately. Department of Justice Public Affairs Specialist Sarah Flores opined to Rosenstein the issue of the release of the memorandum may have been previously discussed by Department officials, but Rosenstein could not recall the exact exchange with Flores because he was very busy with meetings on May 9 between 1:00 pm and 5:00 pm.

At some point on the afternoon of May 9, Rosenstein telephoned McGahn and learned when Jody Hunt delivered Rosenstein's memorandum (and presumably Sessions'), Hunt remained in the Oval Office for two hours. Hunt later acknowledged he had been there for two hours.

Later that afternoon, Rosenstein demanded Crowell ask Jim Rybicki to locate Comey to "bring him in" to inform him of the looming termination. Rosenstein exclaimed Comey "was a friend of mine and the FBI Director, we need to find out where he is." At that time, he had formed the mistaken impression Comey was on his way to Los Angeles. He later discovered Comey had already arrived.

When Rosenstein learned Comey was informed of the termination by e-mail, he was "angry, ashamed, horrified, and embarrassed." It was also humiliating for Comey. Rosenstein was not copied on the e-mail to Comey, and was surprised the media portrayed the termination as Rosenstein's idea. At some point that evening, Sarah Flores told

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Rod Rosenstein, On 05/23/2017, Page 5 of 11

Rosenstein something she had heard from a contact at the White House. (Schools advised Rosenstein not to discuss the content of the conversation.) Based on the exchange with Flores, Rosenstein told her the Department of Justice "cannot participate in putting out a false story." Rosenstein opined Flores's White House contact was someone from the White House Chief of Staff's Office or Public Affairs. Flores informed Rosenstein the White House requested he attend a press conference on the termination but Rosenstein refused.

Later that evening, Rosenstein received a short telephone call in his office from the President. Crowell was in Rosenstein's office at the time. After the telephone call, Rosenstein visited Sessions' office (not as a result of the call). Flores was in the secretary's vestibule outside Sessions' office on a phone call. Once the call terminated, she informed Rosenstein it was a call from a "high-ranking official at the White House." Sessions was not part of that conversation, and nothing significant was discussed between Rosenstein and Sessions at that time.

By the evening of May 9, it was clear White House officials had been telling the story about the Comey termination in a manner "inconsistent with my experience and personal knowledge."

#### Events of May 10, 2017

Rosenstein first contacted Mueller on May 10 at 7:34 am, but "of course" he was thinking about the issue of appointing a special counsel before that time.

Then, at 11:30 am, Rosenstein attended a previously scheduled meeting with the prosecutors assigned to the FBI's Russia investigation. This was the first regularly scheduled meeting on the matter. During this first meeting, and in light of all the controversy surrounding the investigation, Rosenstein declared, "In my acting capacity as the Attorney General, leave no stone unturned" or words to that effect. However, those assigned to the case are career prosecutors, so in his personal opinion, telling them to do so was unnecessary because he knew they would do the right thing.

During his May 10 briefing, the team confirmed for Rosenstein the President was not a suspect. This was also Rosenstein's impression from his initial April 28 briefing he received from then Director Comey. Carl Ghattas may have attended this briefing, as well as several prosecutors.

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[REDACTED]  
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Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Rod Rosenstein , On 05/23/2017 , Page 6 of 11

Rosenstein elaborated that based on his May 10 briefing, "there appeared to be no evidence the President was involved personally." Rosenstein inquired whether they needed additional resources, and was informed there was no such need.

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Several times throughout the day on May 10, Sarah Flores gave Rosenstein "tick tick" summaries of news events related to Comey's termination, which Rosenstein explained was not a time line, but a sequence of events. Sometime later that evening, Flores showed him a tick tick summary he believed was reasonable, and authorized its release. Rosenstein and McGahn spoke later that evening on the subject (and before the summary's release). Both were stressed over the situation.

Rosenstein's main reason for appointing a special counsel was due to public perception of the process. It did not reflect a lack of confidence. Rosenstein was inclined to appoint a special counsel immediately the morning of May 10. Rosenstein was concerned about his position at the Department of Justice and it caused him stress, but it did not influence his decision.

Rosenstein was not present at the White House on May 10 when President Trump referred to Comey as a "nut job," does not know who else was present, and knows only what he read in the newspaper.

#### Rosenstein's Opinion of Jim Comey

Rosenstein's opinion of Comey's handling of the Hillary Clinton investigation began to form the previous fall, and was also informed by others, whose opinions he read in the newspaper. Rosenstein interjected "I've always liked Jim Comey," but he disagreed with his decisions "in that case." Rosenstein paused a moment, appearing to have been overcome by emotion, but quickly recovered and apologized.

Rosenstein recalled inviting Comey to speak at a Department of Justice training conference in October 2016. After he made his

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remarks, he solicited questions, and attorney [REDACTED] raised his hand and asked Comey about his handling of the Clinton press conference. Comey described his state of mind at the time and acknowledged it was inconsistent with Department of Justice practice but stated "we acted in good faith." Rosenstein "fundamentally disagreed with his reasoning," and discussed the issue "with several attorneys" who all agreed "we would never do anything like that."

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Rosenstein also recalled being invited late 2016 or early 2017 to Sessions' senatorial office for coffee. During this conversation, Rosenstein told Sessions he was friends with Comey but believed there should be a change in FBI management because the FBI's reputation had been damaged "because of 2016." Rosenstein agreed with Sessions it would be "appropriate to have a fresh start."

On May 1, 2017, Rosenstein attended a "component meeting" and afterwards, Rosenstein asked Comey to remain, and they met privately in Comey's old office during his tenure as Deputy Attorney General. It was his first and only meeting with Comey in the role of Deputy Attorney General, which directly supervises the position of FBI Director. [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] During this meeting, Comey discussed a dinner he attended at the White House with the President. Rosenstein described Comey as not an "alarmist" but Comey described the dinner as "strange" and "awkward." The President did all the talking during this dinner.

Rosenstein reiterated his goal in drafting his memorandum was not to "fire Comey." It never occurred to him he "would be responsible for determining whether to remove him." It never crossed his mind the removal of Comey would impact the Russia investigation. Rosenstein "doesn't know what the White House was thinking." The notion that removing Comey would impact the FBI's Russia investigation never crossed his mind.

Rosenstein was comfortable with Comey either being fired or not fired. Rosenstein did not believe staffing decisions were his to make; the deputy attorney general was only to make recommendations. If the decision was made not to fire Comey, Rosenstein intended to inform him "we didn't make public statements."

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Rod Rosenstein , On 05/23/2017 , Page 8 of 11**Rosenstein's Selection as Deputy Attorney General**

Senator Sessions telephoned Rosenstein on November 28, 2016, and invited him to his office to "talk about the Department." A few days later, Rosenstein visited Sessions. Rosenstein did not know for which position he was being considered. It was clear only that he was being considered for "a position." [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] Sessions summoned him to his office several times for meetings. Before one such meeting, he waited with Rachel Brand and they discussed personnel matters, after which Brand commented the fact they had both been summoned meant they were both going to be offered positions in the new administration under Sessions. This was important because Brand was supposed to start a new job the following day and needed to know whether to withdraw from the position.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] All of his meetings during the hiring phase were between Rosenstein and either Sessions or Sessions' aides. Rosenstein recalled [REDACTED] who was a close friend of Sessions, was present during some of the early meetings, as were other employees of Sessions, including [REDACTED] who served as then-Senator Sessions' aide before coming to the Department of Justice.

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Rosenstein was never certain for what position he had been nominated, but assumed it was either the deputy attorney general or associate attorney general position. In fact, he was nominated to be deputy, and Brand was nominated to be associate. [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Sessions and Rosenstein never discussed the Russia investigation during this time period. Rosenstein only knew about the Russia

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[REDACTED]  
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[REDACTED]

investigation what he read in the newspaper. During his confirmation hearing, Rosenstein thought it "almost preposterous" that he would have any involvement with the investigation. Only after discussing the matter with Comey did Rosenstein know anything about the investigation.

The Russia investigation had been monitored by acting Principal Deputy Attorney General Crowell and Dana Boente until Rosenstein was sworn in as Deputy Attorney General. Rosenstein's first briefing on the matter was provided by Comey on April 28, 2017. Terwilliger was excluded from these briefings.

#### Interviews of Potential Director Candidates

In January 2017, Rosenstein called "a few people" to see if they would be interested in the position of FBI Director but when he heard the President had given his public support to Comey, Rosenstein stopped asking around.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

Rosenstein and Sessions conducted several interviews "a week ago Saturday," more on last Sunday, then engaged in several telephone calls with individuals "offering advice" or with prospective candidates. Rosenstein telephoned "a lot" of former Justice Department and Bureau officials looking for good candidates. There were two former deputy attorneys general Rosenstein hoped would consider the position, but neither was willing to apply.

Rosenstein participated in several interviews for the position of FBI Director. Those interviews were conducted by Rosenstein, Jody Hunt, [REDACTED] and Sessions. Sessions and Rosenstein asked most of the questions.

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

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The first candidate to be interviewed at the White House was b5 per DOJ/OIP  
Mueller. [REDACTED]

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

**Rosenstein Appoints Mueller as Special Counsel**

Rosenstein's first conversation with Mueller for the position of Special Counsel was during a telephone call on Wednesday, May 10, 2017, at 7:34 am. On Friday, May 12, Rosenstein met with Mueller in person. Later that evening, Jody Hunt telephoned Mueller.

Rosenstein and Sessions spoke with Mueller on Saturday, May 13. Mueller informed them he did not want to be interviewed for the FBI Director position. Rosenstein instead convinced Mueller to share with Sessions Mueller's views about "what should be done with the FBI." Sessions thought Mueller's comments were "brilliant." Rosenstein did not want to interview Mueller and then reject him, so they made it clear they only sought his opinion.

Nevertheless, Mueller was placed on the White House's list of potential candidates for FBI Director. Jody Hunt was the Department of Justice's primary contact with the White House and may have got him on the list for an interview. Mueller was interviewed for the position of FBI Director, but later decided to withdraw from consideration.

Mueller interviewed for the Director position on Tuesday, May 16. Rosenstein did not coordinate Mueller's interview for the position of Director.

When Rosenstein appeared before Congress on Thursday, May 18, he did not discuss anything related to communications with the White House because he believed such matters were within the scope of the Special Counsel's investigation. Although Rosenstein assigned a special counsel, he did not dictate exactly what the Special Counsel would include in its investigation. He had considered several candidates for Special Counsel, including Jim Coles.

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Rod Rosenstein, [REDACTED] MD 20817, DOJ cell [REDACTED] main [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

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May 8 of this year, summoned to meeting at WH with McGahn and AG, at WHC office. he didn't speak to him, assistants schedules it. Found out thorough DOJ staff AG would be there. He didn't know purpose of meeting.

He wrote down his thoughts on the meeting but doesn't want to give it over yet. Wants Mueller to talk to WH for approval before discussing contents. Started at noon, at first just him and McGahn, then AG and chief of staff Jody Hunt arrived. At one point Reince Priebus came into room, first time they met. He ordered lunch, they ate in McGHns office. His protection detail would have exact times, probably got back between 1 and 2. Detail can give us times. Marshalls.

Returned for meeting at oval office at 5pm, not on his calendar though. That white house meeting lasted probably less than an hour. Present at the meeting was P, Uttam Dhillon, him, the AG, initially Donald McGhan, Reince Priebus, Jody Hunt, and a man he believes to be John Eisenberg. At some point the VP came into the meeting. Returned to DOJ, then started writing memo. I knew when I left D Comey would be fired and told the below staffers and that he was tasked to write memo summarizing his concerns about Comey. He left tense because he didn't have a lot of time and uncertain because he didn't know the ultimate disposition of the memo. Had to be 100% accurate so he could stand behind it.

They drafted their own memo too. They did it at the same time he worked on his then he might have incorporated some of their comments. One thing they did is draft a memo, then collected public criticisms of Comey's comments and gave him a page of it. Printed all those comments and articles criticizing Comey's stuff. Also got transcript of Comey May 3 congressional testimony.

His opinion on Comey dated back to last fall. Opinion was also informed by opinions of others he read in papers etc. Had lunch with [REDACTED] at [REDACTED] request. He's a former [REDACTED] in 70's under Ford. He wanted to share with DAG those public statements and [REDACTED] was disappointed in Comey's public statements and how damaging they were to Bu and Dept.

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I've always liked Jim Comey. Disagreed with his decisions in that case.

Spoke to two staffers, James Crowell who is chief of staff and acting principal associate deputy attorney general, and Zachary Terwilliger, who is deputy chief of staff. They assisted him in writing the memo. They were the only ones who saw memo until the next morning when he showed memo to Scott May 9 morning.

Was in office until very late May 8, came home, came back May 9, got 2 phone calls from McGahn. b5 per DOJ/OIP  
Morning, Scott reviewed memo around 10am [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
Around noon, Crowell took copy of memo to AG, Crowell returned later with edits [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] He signed it.

He knew AG was working on his memo but never saw it until the next day. Next thing he recalled – asnt sure what WH would think of his memo because not consistent with P's comments on campaign. He assumed P or AG and possibly DAG would have to contact Comey to schedule a meeting to inform of removal. He expected that. He knew it was imminent and figured he'd be called in for a meeeing.

Sarah Flores, PAU recalled convo about DONJ releasing memos. Doesn't remember either way. Not involved in AG's memo. He contemplated memo would one day be reeleased . didn't know it would be done immediately, although Sarah thought that might have been discussed. He had several meetings between 1 and 5 so busy day.

At some point he called McGhan that afternoon and learned Jody Hunt spent two hours in oval office. He took memos over from DOJ. Hunt said he was there. Later that afternoon, Comey was a friend of mine and FBI D, we need to find out where he is. Told Jim Crowell to tell Jim Rybicki to find Comey to bring him in to give him news. He formed mistaken impression Cmoey was on his way to LA, later learned he was already there.

When he found out how he was fired, he was angry, ashamed, horrigied, embarrassed, it was humiliating for Comey. At some point that evening, PAO Sarah Flores told DAG something she heard from WH. And DAG told her the DOJ cannot participate in putting out afalse story. Sarah said WH wanted him to attend press conferecnce and he refused.

Received phone call from P later that evening. Crowell was in DAG's office. Short call. Shortly alater he was in AG's office, which is normal, Sarah was on phone with high ranking WH person, and after that, Sarah said it was call from WH. Sarah and DAG was in secretary's office having exchange with Sarah while she was on phone. AG not part of that convo. No significant convo with AG at that time.

Evening of May 9 it was clear WH officials was telling story about firing d that was inconsistent with DAG's experience and personal knowledge.

He called Mueller at 734am on may 9m but was of course thinking about it before. He "realized immediately the problem."

April 28- first briefing on Russia led by comey. Some of ghattis might have been there and prosecurtosr.

May 10- called Mueller on 734am on may 10<sup>th</sup> (corrected previous mistake). May 10 previously scheduled meetingh with prosecutors on Russia investigation.

1130 am May 10 was first regularly scheduled meeting. He said in my acting capacity as AG- leave no stone unturned. Because of all the controversy and therefore, leave no stone.... In his personal opinion telling ihm that was unnecessary because they are career prosecutos and would do the right thing.

Confirmed president was not suspect. That was also his impression on april 28 when comey told him that. Based on his briefing there appeared to be no evidence P was involved personally. They saw no b5 per DOJ/OIP need for additional resources (DAG asked) and [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] On May 10 several times throughout the day, Sarah gave him a "tick tock summary" of news events ... not a time line but sequence of events. Some time early evening she showed him one he thought was a reasonable summary of events. It was released later that evening. He and McGhan spoke later that evening about that. McGhan called him BEFORE they released the sequence of events. They were both stressed over the situation.

Public perception of process, so he decided to appoint special counsel. No lack of confidence, purely an issue of public perception. He was inclined to appoint SC immediately that morning. He was concerned about his position here but it stressed him but did not influence his decision.

No information about the nut job comments.

He invited Comey to speak at the October training conference. [REDACTED] raised his hand and asked about the Clinton press conference. He told entire story about his state of mind and knows it was inconsistent with DOJ practice but we acted in good faith. DAG fundamentally disagreed with his reasoning, discussed with several attorneys, we would never do anything like that.

b6  
b7C

No one from outside tried to influence his drafting of his memo.

AG didn't see DAG's memo until after noon on that day. So perhaps AG wrote his already. So AG

His opinion is AG's recusal from a matter does not mean he is recused from "managing the component."

He reminded in his statement he and AG discussed Comey, was invited to AG to talk have coffee in Sessions office. He told AG he was friends with Comey but that there should be change in FBI management because reputation was damaged and he agreed with AG it would be appropriate to have a fresh start. AG knew DAG liked Comey.

DAG was ok firing or not firing, his view was it is not his decision to fire or not fire. He only makes recommendations.

As DAG he felt if D was going to stay he would tell him we didn't make public statements

May 1- component meeting

b5 per DOJ/OIP

One meeting he had with Comey as DAG was- [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and they spoke in Comey's old DAG office. Comey talked about the dinner with the P at that time. Comey wasn't alarmist, but just "strange/"

His goal WAS NOT to fire Comey. It never occurred to him he would be responsible for determining whether to remove him. The notion removing Comey would impact the Russia thing never crossed his mind. He never believed the termination had anything to do with Russia. He doesn't know what WH was thinking.

Comey told him after their one meeting he had an awkward dinner with president, his demeanor was odd, he didn't know it would just be the 2 of them, P did all the talking. But in his mind, P is not subject of this (collusion) investigation.

In congress he would not discuss anything related to communications with WH because within scope of Muelle's investigation. He assigned the matter but didn't dictate what so he didn't know exactly what he was investigating.

Sessions (then senator) November 28 called and said let's talk about department. Came in few days later, didn't know what he was being considered for. It was clear he was being considered for "a b5 per DOJ/OIP position." [redacted]

[redacted]  
[redacted]

b6  
b7C

This led to sessions calling him to his office a few times for meetings. At one meeting Rachel Brand and he were talking about personnel and Rachel said I guess the fact we were here means we were getting the jobs. Apparently Rachel needed to know whether to withdraw from another job she was supposed to start the next day. [redacted] His only meetings were with AG and AG's aides. Never with WH. [redacted] close friend of AG was in some of those early meetings. Others too, exes of senator. [redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

Never certain when he was nominated but began to assume it was DAG or associate AG (Rachel got that job). [redacted]

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

They never talked about Russian thing. Only what he knew in paper. Then during confirmation hearing he found it almost preposterous that he would have involvement with Russian piece. Only after talking to Comey did he know anything about Russian piece.

Boente and Crowell as acting PDAG were only ones monitoring Russia case until DAG sworn in. got his first briefing on April 28. APDAG been acting since January 20.

In January he called a few people to see if they would be interested in FBI D but then Trump said he supported Comey so he stopped asking.

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP



AG and DAG conducted a lot of interviews a week ago Saturday, then last Sunday, then several phone calls with people offering advice or prospective candidates and DAG was calling a lot of former DOJ officials and Bu friends looking for good candidates. There were 2 DAG hoped would take the job. Neither was willing to apply.

The interviews he participated in was Jody Hunt, [REDACTED] AG and Dag. AG and DAG asked most of the questions [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED]  
b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

DAG's first conversation with Mueller was May 10 at 734 am. Met with him Friday . later, Jody reached out to him Friday night about FBI D and he interviewed Tuesday. Over the weekend on Saturday they talked. They talked to Mueller by phone along with AG. He briefly shared his views about what should be done with FBI, AG thought it was brilliant. He somehow got on WH list. Jody Hunt was primary POC with WH and he probably got him on the list at WH for an interview. He said on phone he didn't want to be interviewed for FBI D, DAG convinced him to share with AG what he should be looking for for D. AG thought he was spot on. DAG didn't want to interview then reject him, so they made it clear they just wanted his opinion... "I know you're not applying for the job but please share what we should be looking for but...." Then later somehow he got on the WH list for potential candidates.

Mueller interviewed but later decided to withdraw from position of FBI D.

5/23/17

1) 10

Stawls, Scott

Rosenstein, Rod



, May 20 817

W. cell -

W phone



b6  
b7C

8 May mtg w/ McGowan + AG At WH. could office  
learned AG would be there

Went to prepare

Rosenstein  
will give

write down a statement

started @ noon back before 2 but unsure  
alone w/ me

John Hunt car arrived  
at one point Pence Priebus arrived (first  
time he met  
Priebus)

ordered lunch

conversation covered by privilege

returned to oval office @ 5 pm  
less than an hour

Pres. / Vernon Dhillon, DAG AG

Donald McGowan, Pence, Priebus, Hunt  
John Eisenberg (went to DAG but left told  
at some point VP entered

2/10

know that Dir Comey was going to be fired  
returned to DOJ, started to write the memo  
spoke to Jim Crowell PADAG  
to Zachary Terwilliger DCOS  
2 ~~staff~~

bootride  
w/ memo

Aids told about task to write a memo about  
Dir Comey  
Assigned ~~task~~ DAC in writing the memo  
only for who saw that day  
should to start on 9 May

felt sense b/c limited for  
uncertainty as to the disposition  
had to be 100%  
they drafted their memo - DAC incorporated  
two

Zach collected public criticism of asked about Lynch  
congressional hearings, articles

Didn't consult w/ any one  
opinion formed prior

March 2

[ ] scheduled lunch w/ DAC  
he wanted to share an [ ] - how  
disappointed he was about Dir Comey's  
handling

b6  
b7C

Draft completed on 9 May

3/8/10

\*

9 May 2 calls from McGahan  
didn't do anything different

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

DAG knew AG was working on his own memo  
DAG not involved w/ AG's memo

My reasons were not consistent w/ what the  
Pres. said on campaign - namely <sup>Pres</sup> ~~Carey~~ commended  
~~the~~ Carey about official investigator

DAG assumed a mtg would be scheduled that  
day to terminate Dir Carey

Sarah Place, Public Affairs, recalled  
DOJ making a statement

\* afternoon called Mr. McGahan

AG's COI Hunt spent 2 hours at the oval  
office

Hunt took AG and DAG's letters to W.H.  
believed Hunt told her

4/10

DAG told counsel to reach out to Rybicki;

when told convey was to be fired

that evening

Search Flores

told

PA heard from W.H. <sup>unk</sup> Car or PA

evening DOT can't participate in putting out a false story

W.H. wants a press conference

\* later evening received a phon call  
Didn't do anything

after DAG was in the AG's office  
Flores on the phone w/ ~~that~~ a high  
ranking W.H. official  
outside AG's office

\* AG met w/ DAG and Flores

W.H. officially telling a story of convey's  
was diff. than DAG's knowledge  
part from Flores and part from News

surprised

1.) done by email

2.) all Perlmutter's idea

not copied or email

5/10

Special Council

7:34a called Muller on 10<sup>th</sup> May

11:30 reg. scheduled w/ Justice ~~Investigator~~,  
prosecutor

28 April - Comey briefed Justice Inv. by  
Guthrie and prosecutor

DAG in charge

1st of Registry was 11:30 on 10  
I am acting AG continuation  
have no stone unturned. If Russian's involved  
prosecutor

Confirmed sup Not a suspect  
in evidence President was involved  
length [redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

No Need for add'l review  
[redacted]

[redacted]

Flower gave Tic Tac of firing  
they put out

\* Donald Gher from with. called <sup>day</sup> before  
the sequence released  
both stored

6/10

public perception of process,  
not reflective of prosecutor and Agent,  
inclined to appoint a special counsel that means  
were you  
concerned about your position - yes but <sup>bl merits stn:</sup>

not present out dual office on 10 May  
only what he saw

9 May

unsure if AG drafted his before or after  
DAG showed to AG after noon

No discussion if AG should be involved  
DOJ ~~has~~ are recused from the matter  
not from managing the component

Nov 21 or 2-16 - <sup>first</sup> meeting

told him Jim Comey was a friend  
there should be a change b/c of  
2016

DAG doesn't make staffing decisions only  
recommendations

DAG okay w/ ~~or~~ or w/out Comey  
Component had 12 May w/ Comey At DOJ  
what's our policy on public statements  
Back in DAG office



7/10

Impact of removing Comey from FBI would  
not impact the Russia investigation  
DAC never thought that - didn't cross his mind

Comey said to DAC Acknowled dinner w/ the prez  
only Comey and President  
it was bizarre

back  
pulled back

TO Congress - I don't know what's his invitation  
Give Mueller the opportunity to investigate

Now 28 Senator Sessions called

interviewed several days later

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

Sessions called DAC to his office a couple times  
Rachel Brand at the meeting

Never interviewed at WH

[REDACTED]

and is now  
close friend of AG

b6  
b7C

8/10

only section /



b6  
b7C

- AG's view we need New leadership of the  
FBI



b5 per DOJ/OIP

Never discussed the Position role during ~~the~~ DAG's  
hiring interview

Not until after DAG met w/ Comey,  
Cruz /  
Donaghy

excluded each from the Position matter  
until after, known to  
briefed on 21 April

=  
Selection of next FBI Director

- stressed initially b/c FBI is most  
important law enforcement in the country



b5 per DOJ/OIP

Monday, then Thursday - but slowed

9/10

How many

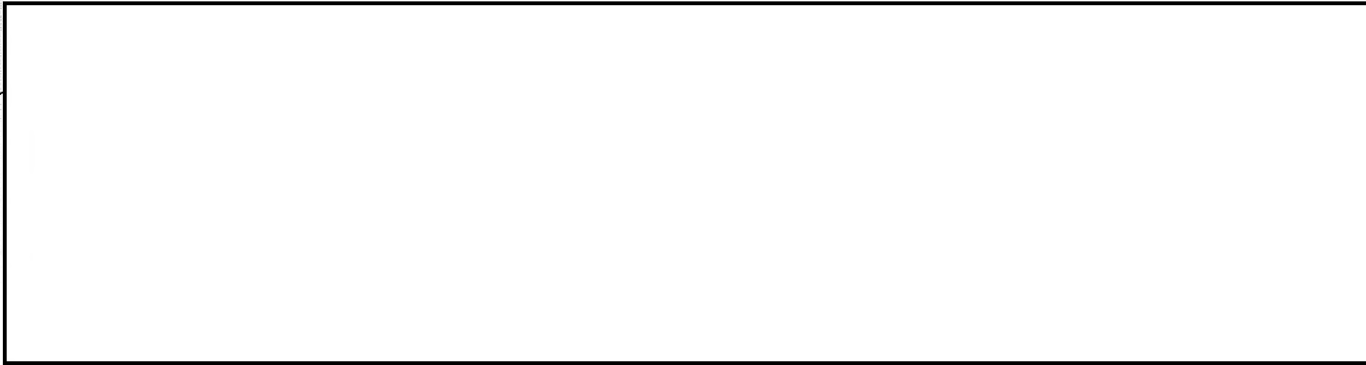
AG and DAG week ago Sat  
AG + DAG asked get the one on Sunday

entire + that

several by phone, - either off-air schedule  
or confidante

b5 per DOJ/OIP

DAG



b5 per DOJ/OIP



b5 per DOJ/OIP



b5 per DOJ/OIP

10/10

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Friday AG and DAG w/ Mueller via phone  
DAG called Mueller Day after the firing for special  
DAG made conflict w/ AG's office b/ of personal  
att.

①

\* They will not answer questions re: priv comm until

Scott Schuels present

3 pages  
of notes

5/23 @ 2:30 pm

R. Rosenstein →

[redacted]

ML →

[redacted]

all  
office

b6  
b7C

- Discuss ~~problem~~ priv. comm. w/ WH + SC?
- Documents requested from Hill and FBI
- 5/8 meeting w/ Don McGahn → ≈ 12pm (protected detail would have time)
- learned AG would be there as well
- did not know purpose of meeting
- alone w/ McGahn at first
- Jody Hunt + AG arrived next
- Renee Precher came in at some point
- Returned to office at 5pm
- President, Utan Diller, AG, Don McGahn, Jody Hunt, Renee Precher, Possible Eisenberg VP came in at some point
- Memo written that evening
- Chief - James Crowell
- Deputy Chief - Zachary Tiersworth
- } Space to both re: memo
- 5/9 - Finished memo
- After meeting at WH → told Crowell/Zach about pending firing
- Was told he had to write the memo and finish by next morning
- They (2/1) drafted their own versions as well
- R.R. used pieces of their memos in his
- 3/2 - Lunch w/ [redacted] - former [redacted]
- Discussed Comey comments in public re: Clinton

b6  
b7C

②

Morning 5/9

\* Has written notes going back to last fall \*  
→ Wants to give

- 2 telephone calls McGahn → nothing changed
- Late morning Schools reviewed memo

Late morning

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- Knew AG was working on memo, but no foreknowledge of content
- His memo reflects his own views not anyone else
- He thought Potus, AG, or DAG would call Comey and <sup>terminate</sup> in-person
- Contemplated memo would be released, but did not think so soon

That afternoon he learned <sup>possibly from Hunt himself</sup> Hunt took letters over to WH and spent 2 hours there

- Asked Crowley to reach to Rypinski to get Comey
- He then learned how Comey was fired → <sup>RR became emotional</sup> via email

Evening 5/9 • Flores → RR says he will not be part of a false story → refused to attend press conference

• WH Council

• Then received phone call from Potus

• Meeting w/ Pres

• Short call

• Phone calls WH

(Sarah) • Later received another phone call

• Sarah's phone calls

from WH → RR was up in AG's outer office

- He assesses WH press stories were inconsistent w/ his personal view/knowledge → <sup>he</sup> saying it was all his idea

• Believes may have heard from J. Hunt about email

Mueller

Made final decision to not go for Director and leave law firm to become Special Counsel

(3)

5/10  
7:34 AM

→ called Mueller (official offer)

→

5/10 → 11:30 met w/ Russia Prosecutors (First brief 4/28 by Comey re: Russia)

↳ scheduled,

Russia → leave no stone unturned

Russia Prosecutors → "Confirmed President was not a suspect @ this meeting"

→ No need for [redacted] additional resources

b5 per DOJ/OIG

• Flores (Tic Tac Summary) of finding first pattern → media

• Don McGahn called that evening re: release of sequence of events

• RR qualifies as call as "stressed"

• Special Counsel → out of a need to address public perception of the investigation

• Was concerned about his position if he appointed counsel, but did not change his decision

• 5/10 meet w/ Lavoie + Kislyak → no awareness of this meeting

• RR not sure when AG drafted him → he believed AG does not receive his until afternoon (RR)

• Nov 28, 2016 first meeting w/ AG

• Had a leadership discussion re: FBI

• He made a recommendation → staffing decision up to WH

• He would be okay if fired or if kept

• Comey + RR had public statement discussion (first meeting as DAG)

• He believed Comey was getting fired regardless of his memo

→ Did not anticipate it would all be put on him

• Never thought removal of Comey would impact Russia investigation

• ↳ Just his opinion of his actions

Can't speak to anyone else

• Was aware of Comey meeting Potus and that was strange

- WH Docs
- Crowell Twillight drafts
- DAA Memo

(4.)

Congress

- Would not discuss communication w/ WH until discussions w/ SC

11/28/16

- 1<sup>st</sup> DAG call 1<sup>st</sup> call from AG though did not even was an interview

b5 per DOJ/OIP

AG's Friend

- Then met w/ AG a couple more times, no interview w/ WH
- After inauguration - first contact with WH

- Initially reached out to two folks per FBI Director prior to end January

AG's Rachel

- No prior discussion w/ AG re: Russia leading up to his appointment outside of media

- Crowell/<sup>Dave</sup>Boente ran Russia until after sworn in and 4/28 brief by Comey

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

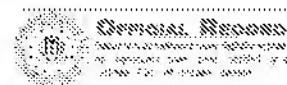
b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

share later





~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [REDACTED] (S)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 08/10/2017

(U) MARY McCORD, date of birth [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] was interviewed at the Office of the Special Counsel, 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC. Participating in the interview were Special Agents (SAs) [REDACTED] and Office of the Special Counsel attorneys Andrew Goldstein and Elizabeth Prelogar. SA [REDACTED] advised McCord that it is a violation of criminal law to lie to the FBI in the course of an investigation, which McCord acknowledged. After being advised of the purpose of the interview, McCord provided the following information:

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(U) Employment History

(U) After law school, McCord clerked for U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Hogan for two years, and then spent two years at the Department of Treasury Office of Legal Counsel. In 1994, she joined the District of Columbia United States Attorney's Office (DC-USAO). [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] she went back to the DC-USAO. In 2001, McCord [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] McCord again went back to the DC-USAO. In

~~Reason: 1.4(c)  
Derived From: Multiple Sources  
Declassify On: 20421231~~

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [REDACTED] (S)

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Investigation on 07/17/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 07/20/2017

by [REDACTED]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ (U) (S)

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mary McCord , On 07/17/2017 , Page 2 of 12

2012, McCord became the Criminal Chief, where she remained until May 2014, when she left to go to Main Justice.

(U) McCord started at DOJ as the acting Principal Deputy Assistant Attorney General for the National Security Division (NSD). In August 2014, she became the Principal Deputy Assistant Attorney General, where she remained until October 2016. In October 2016, after John Carlin's departure, McCord served as acting Assistant Attorney General (AAG) for NSD. McCord's last day at DOJ was May 12, 2017. She currently works at the Georgetown University Law Center.

(U) During the time McCord served as the acting AAG, there was no Principal Deputy in place, so she performed the duties of both positions simultaneously. Her duties included assisting in running NSD's various components, which include the Office of Law and Policy, Counterintelligence and Export Control Section, the Appellate Section, and the CFIUS Unit. On occasion, McCord would attend Deputies Committees (DCs) and Principals Committees (PCs) at the White House when Yates was unavailable.

(U//FOUO) The FBI Investigation on LTG Mike Flynn

(S) ~~(S)~~ the FBI's investigation into Mike Flynn (S) b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b7E

(S)

(S) ~~(S)~~ b5 Per DOJ/OIP

the lack of Russian reaction to the U.S.'s December 2016 sanctions. There was a lot of speculation regarding the minimal response from the Russians which was not "what was expected."

(S)

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b3  
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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b7E~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ (U) (S)

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~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted]

(S)

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mary McCord , On 07/17/2017 , Page 3 of 12

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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(U)

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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(U)

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted]

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~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

(S)

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mary McCord , On 07/17/2017 , Page 4 of 12

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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(S)

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

(S)

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~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted]

(S)

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mary McCord , On 07/17/2017 , Page 5 of 12

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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(S)

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted]

(S)

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~b1  
b3  
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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mary McCord , On 07/17/2017 , Page 6 of 12

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b7E~~(S)~~(U//FOUO) January 26, 2017 Meeting with White House Counsel's Office

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

~~(S)~~

(U//FOUO) On January 26, 2017, McCord accompanied Yates to the White House, where they met with White House Counsel Don McGahn and another attorney from his office, James Burnham. The four of them were the only ones at the meeting.

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

~~(S)~~~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

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~~(S)~~

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

(S)

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mary McCord , On 07/17/2017 , Page 7 of 12

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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(U//~~FOUO~~) McGahn asked if Flynn had been interviewed by the FBI and Yates told him that he had been interviewed [REDACTED]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] McGahn asked "how'd he do?" and

Yates declined to answer. [REDACTED]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(U//~~FOUO~~) January 27, 2017 Meeting with White House Counsel's Officeb1  
b3  
b7E~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

(S)

FBI(19cv1278)-680

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted] (S)

[redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mary McCord , On 07/17/2017 , Page 8 of 12

[redacted] X b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] X b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(S)

[redacted] (S)

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(S) b1  
b3  
b7E

[redacted] X b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] X b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] X b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] X b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b7E

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted] (S)

FBI(19cv1278)-681



~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted]

(S)

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mary McCord , On 07/17/2017 , Page 9 of 12

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

X

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(S)

X [redacted]

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b3  
b7E

(S)

[redacted]

[redacted]

(S)

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(S)

X [redacted]

[redacted]

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[redacted]

(S)

[redacted]

(S)

[redacted]

[redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

X

X

X

X

b1  
b3  
b7E

b5 Per DOJ/OIP  
FBI(19cv1278)-682

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted]

(S)

b1  
b3  
b7E

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted]

(S)

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mary McCord , On 07/17/2017 , Page 10 of 12

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(S)

[redacted]

b1  
b3  
b7E

(S)

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

X

(S)

b1  
b3  
b7E

(S)

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

X

b1  
b3  
b7E

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted]

(S)

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted] (S)

[redacted]  
Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mary McCord , On 07/17/2017 , Page 11 of 12

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b3  
b5  
b7E

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b3  
b5  
b7E

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b3  
b5  
b7E

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b1  
b3  
b7E

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted] (S)

b1  
b3  
b7E

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted] (S)

[redacted]  
Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mary McCord , On 07/17/2017 , Page 12 of 12

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b1  
b3  
b7E

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted] (S)

FBI(19cv1278)-685

UNCLASSIFIED

b6  
b7C

Physical 1A/1C Cover Sheet for Serial Export

**Created From:**

[REDACTED]  
Serial 56

**Package:**

1A32

**Stored Location:**

None

**Summary:**

(U) Documents (numbered  
1-90) provided to McCord  
for review prior to the  
interview; agent notes;  
e-mails provided by  
McCord in the interview

b6  
b7C  
b7E

**Acquired By:**

**Acquired On:**

[REDACTED]  
2017-07-17

**Acquired From:**

(U) Mary McCord  
Washington, District Of  
Columbia

**Attachment:**

(U) Documents (1-90),  
notes

b6  
b7c

b1  
b3  
b7E

U.S. Department of Justice  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
935 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20535

b6  
b7C  
b7E

FBI(19cv1278)-705

2167885-1A SEC 002 SER 1A28--000014

~~SECRET~~

FBI INFO.  
CLASSIFIED BY: NSICG [REDACTED]  
REASON: 1.4 (C)  
DECLASSIFY ON: 12-31-2042  
DATE: 07-11-2019

b6  
b7C

Mary McLeod

7/17/2017

date of birth: [REDACTED]

Spec. Coun. office

Address: [REDACTED]

SA [REDACTED]

SA [REDACTED]

current employment: Georgetown Univ.

Andrew Goldstein

Elizabeth Prelogar

previous employment:

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

5/2014 - acting PD Asst Atty Gen

8/2014 - ~~acting~~ PD Asst Atty Gen (no princ. deputy when she was acting)

10/2016 - acting AAG for NSD

last 2 weeks - AAG for NSD

last day - 5/12/2017

clerked Judge Hogan 2 yrs

Treasury OLC 2 yrs

1994 - OUSA / DC (Holder was USA)

year Dep Chief

2012-2014 ~~year~~ Criminal Chief

acting AAG & prin. deputy AAG simultaneously.

responsibilities - running division, various components.

law & policy, CES, DCs, PCs, appellate section, etc.

CFUS,

b3  
b7E

FBI(19cv1278)-725

~~SECRET~~

b1  
b3  
b7E

(2)

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(S)

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

lack of  
reaction to sanctions

there was speculation about what the  
response was not what was expected

b1  
b3  
b7E

(S)

(S)

(S)

(S)

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(S)

(S)

b1  
b3  
b7E

(8)-726



(S)

1/26/17

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

go to WHCO

met McGahn

James

&amp; Burnham

Meeting: McGahn, Yates, McLeod, Burnham

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

para  
phrased

(S)

b1  
b3  
b7E

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

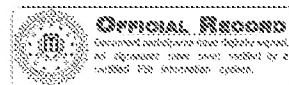
McGahn: Has FBI interviewed him?

SA: yes, by FBI

DM: how'd he do?

SA: (demurred) can't comment

b3  
b7E



## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/15/2019

Chris Christie was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, 395 E St SW, Washington, D.C., in the presence of his attorney, [REDACTED] from the law firm Lowenstein Sandler LLP. Participating in the interview were Special Agent (SA) [REDACTED] Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel James Quarles, and Senior Assistant Special Counsel Andrew Goldstein. Also present were Counselor to the Special Counsel Michael Dreeben and Assistant Special Counsel Elizabeth Prelogar. After acknowledging that it is a potential violation of Title 18 USC 1001 to lie to federal law enforcement in the course of an investigation and being advised of the identity of the interviewing agent and the nature of the interview, Christie provided the following information:

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 02/13/2019 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 02/14/2019by [REDACTED]b6  
b7C  
b7E

[redacted]

[redacted]

(U) Interview of Chris Christie  
Continuation of FD-302 of (2.13.2019) . On 02/13/2019 . Page 2 of 10

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

February 14, 2017 White House lunch:

Christie [redacted] invited to lunch at the White House [redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted]

(U) Interview of Chris Christie  
Continuation of FD-302 of (2.13.2019) . On 02/13/2019 . Page 3 of 10

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

As they watched the TV, Spicer said something about Flynn. Shortly after, Kushner's phone rang, and it was Flynn on the line. Christie could tell from observing Kushner's half of the conversation that it was not going well and Flynn did not like something Spicer said. Christie heard Kushner say something like, "You know the President respects you. The President cares about you. I'll get the President to send out a positive tweet about you later." Kushner looked at Trump when he said the last part, and Trump nodded his assent.

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] Trump said, "Now that we fired Flynn, the Russia thing is over," and Christie laughed. Christie told Trump, "No way. We'll be here on Valentine's Day 2018 talking about this." [redacted] and Christie responded that he had been through both sides of investigations and there was no way to make it shorter, but there were a lot of ways to make it longer. Trump asked Christie what he meant, and Christie told him not to talk about the investigation and to keep his mouth shut even though it would be frustrating at times. [redacted]

[redacted] Christie told Trump that if you get near a guy like Flynn, he's like gum on the bottom of your shoe, and you can't get rid of him. [redacted]

[redacted]

At one point during the lunch, Donald said to me, "This Russia thing is all over now, because I fired Flynn."

I started to laugh.

"What are you laughing about?" he asked.

"Sir," I said, "this Russia thing is far from over."

"What do you mean?" he said. Flynn met with Russians. That was the problem. I fired Flynn. It's over."

[REDACTED]

(U) Interview of Chris Christie  
(2.13.2019)

Continuation of FD-302 of \_\_\_\_\_ . On 02/13/2019 . Page 4 of 10

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Christie thought when Trump said "the Russia thing," he referred to the Russia problem in general, not the investigations specifically. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Christie thought the more b5 per DOJ/OIP  
important thing was that there was an investigation, not that there was coverage of it. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Toward the end of the February 14, 2017 lunch, Trump asked Christie if he was still friendly with [then FBI Director James] Comey, and Christie said that he was. Trump told Christie to call Comey and tell him "I really like

FBI(19cv1278)-836

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(U) Interview of Chris Christie  
Continuation of FD-302 of (2.13.2019) . On 02/13/2019 . Page 5 of 10

him. Tell him he's part of the team. I really like him." At the end of the lunch, Trump repeated that Christie should talk to Comey.

Christie thought the request was "nonsensical" and that he was never going to do it. Christie just sat there when Trump made the request. He would not put Comey in the position of having to receive that telephone call.

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] Christie said it would  
have been uncomfortable to pass on that message [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(U) Interview of Chris Christie  
Continuation of FD-302 of (2.13.2019) , On 02/13/2019 , Page 6 of 10

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Termination of FBI Director Jim Comey

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] Trump called and said, "What should I do? I'm getting killed. I'm getting murdered." Christie asked, "Did you fire him because of what Rod wrote in the memo?" Trump said yes, so Christie told him to "get Rod out there" and have him defend it. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(U) Interview of Chris Christie  
Continuation of FD-302 of (2.13.2019)

. On 02/13/2019 . Page 7 of 10

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] Trump told Christie it was  
a "good idea" and he was going to call Rosenstein right then. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Special Counsel:

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Christie recalled a telephone call with Trump in which Trump asked Christie what he thought about Trump firing Mueller. Christie told him that there were two issues he saw. The first was that Mueller had given Trump no substantive reason to fire him. The second was that it would be political suicide and Trump would lose the Republicans in Congress if he did so. Christie advised him not to fire Mueller. [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] Christie did not recall the precise timing of the



[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(U) Interview of Chris Christie  
Continuation of FD-302 of (2.13.2019) . On 02/13/2019 . Page 8 of 10

telephone call, but thought it was in the summer of 2017, probably after  
Chris Wray had been nominated to be the next FBI Director. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Chris Christie  
(2.13.2019)

Continuation of FD-302 of \_\_\_\_\_, On 02/13/2019, Page 9 of 10

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP  
b7A |  
b7B per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(U) Interview of Chris Christie  
Continuation of FD-302 of (2.13.2019) , On 02/13/2019 , Page 10 of 10

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

①

2/13/2019

ULQ

[Redacted]

MRD

ADG

Chris Christie

EBP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

1001 admonishment

ULQ:

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

2

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

2/14/17 lunch.

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Spicer mention Flynn. Jared's phone rang. Told POTUS it was Flynn. Could tell from VK that it was not going well. Flynn did not like what Spicer said.

You know POTUS respects you. POTUS cares about you. I'll get the Pres. to send out a positive tweet about you later.

POTUS nodded

Now that we fired Flynn, the Russia thing is over.

Cennetti laughed. no way. will be here Valentines 18

[REDACTED]

cc - I've done this. I've been inv.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

There's no way you can make this shorter, lots of ways to make it longer.

P. What do you men?

cc: Don't talk. Keep your mouth shut. It will be frustrating.

cc. you get near a guy like this, like gum on bottom of your shoe.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

5

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Russia thing? The Russia problem. The issue  
Not the univ. specifically. [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

(6)

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

To Christie, important thing is info, not coverage  
& tell him. investigation

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[ gum off your shoe - after JK, MTF call ]

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Comey / lunch:

near end of lunch. Are you still friendly  
w/ Comey? yes

Call him and tell him I really like him.  
Tell him he's part of the team. (really like him)

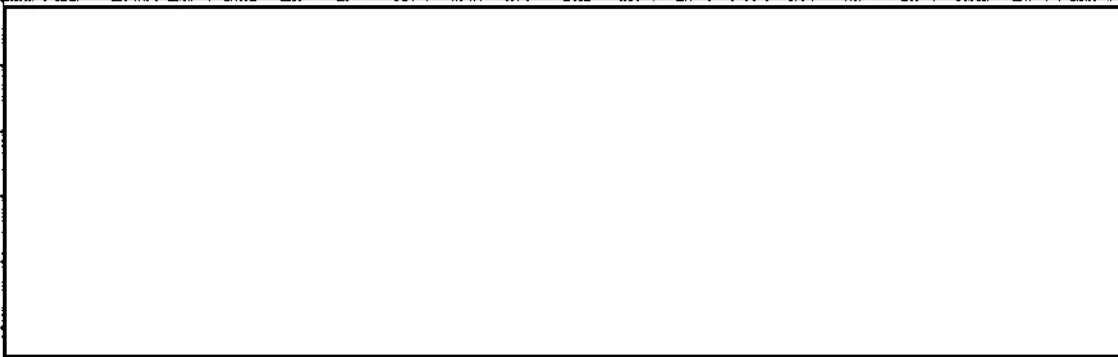
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(7)

Said it again - talk to Comey, okay  
at end.

Nonsensical request. was never going to do  
it. Just sat there wouldn't put Jim in  
that position to receive that call.



b5 per DOJ/OIP



b5 per DOJ/OIP



b5 per DOJ/OIP



FBI(19cv1278)-849

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] Phone rang. [redacted]

"It's the Prez"

"What should I do? I'm getting killed, I'm getting murdered."

C - Did you fire him bc what Rod wrote in memo?

P - Yes

get Rod out there

C - then have Rod defend it

b5 per DOJ/OIP

P - [redacted] good idea. I'm going to call Rod now.

now

b5 per DOJ/OIP

(11)

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

May 17, 17. Special Counsel.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Run him

b5 per DOJ/OIP

asking what do you think about me  
firing Mueller.

① No substantive reason to fire him.

② Political suicide. Lose Rs in Congress.

Do not do that.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

when? Summer of 2017  
probable after Chris Wray <sup>named</sup> as director

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

15

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Timing on phone convs.

After way named, yes.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

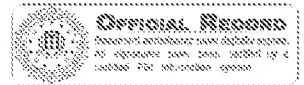
[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP



## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/17/2018

COREY LEWANDOWSKI was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, located at 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC, in the presence of his attorney, [REDACTED]

Present for the interview were Special Agent (SA) [REDACTED]

[redacted] SA [redacted] Intelligence Analyst [redacted] Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Andrew Goldstein, Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel James L. Quarles, Counselor to the Special Counsel Michael Dreeben, and Assistant Special Counsel Elizabeth Prelogar. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, Lewandowski provided the following information:

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C  
b7E

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 04/06/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File #  Date drafted 04/08/2018

by \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C  
b7E

Continuation of FD-302 of [REDACTED] (U) Interview of Corey Lewandowski , On 04/06/2018 , Page 2 of 8

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

**Meeting with President Trump regarding Attorney General Jeff Sessions:**

In mid-June 2017, Lewandowski had a meeting alone with the President in the Oval Office. [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] Jeff Sessions. The President expressed criticism of Sessions' recusal from the Russia investigation and said if he had known in advance Sessions would recuse, he would not have selected him as Attorney General. The President said Sessions was weak [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and the President asked him if he would deliver a message to Sessions. Lewandowski said he would, and the President said, "write this down" and began to dictate a message he said he wanted Sessions to deliver in a public speech. The President thought if Sessions made the remarks he provided, Sessions would get back on track in the eyes of the public and would be viewed favorably.

Lewandowski wrote down what the President dictated on notecards he carried in his pocket. [Agent note: Lewandowski provided the interviewing agents the original copy of the notes he took during the meeting with the President. The notes will be maintained in the 1A section of the case file.] Lewandowski confirmed his notes stated as follows: "I know that I recused myself from certain things having to do with specific areas. But our POTUS [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] is being treated very unfairly. He shouldn't have

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Corey Lewandowski , On 04/06/2018 , Page 3 of 8

a Special Prosecutor/Counsel because he hasn't done anything wrong. I was on the campaign with him for nine months, there were no Russians involved with him. I know it for a fact because I was there. He didn't do anything wrong except he ran the greatest campaign in American history. [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] Now a group of people want to subvert the Constitution of the United States. I am going to meet with the Special Prosecutor to explain this is very unfair to let the Special Prosecutor move forward with investigating election meddling for future elections so that nothing can happen in future elections. [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

The President did not provide additional instructions to Lewandowski other than to say he wanted Lewandowski to deliver the message to Sessions, and for Sessions to make the statement publicly. Lewandowski said he understood. [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] He wrote as fast as possible to make sure he got the content correct. [REDACTED]

**Lewandowski's efforts to pass the message to Attorney General Sessions:**

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP  
Lewandowski contacted Sessions' office to schedule a meeting with him.

[REDACTED]  
Lewandowski thought the message to Sessions should be delivered in person, not over the phone. [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Corey Lewandowski . On 04/06/2018 , Page 4 of 8

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] He did not want to meet at the Department of Justice because he did not want Sessions to have an advantage over him, since that was Sessions' turf. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] He did not want there to be a public log of his visit. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] they decided to meet at Lewandowski's office [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] They set a meeting for the following evening, but before the meeting the next day, Lewandowski received word Sessions had a conflict and had to cancel their meeting. They did not re-schedule the meeting, and Lewandowski left Washington, DC [REDACTED]

Lewandowski maintained the notes in a safe at his home, which was his standard operating procedure with documents and sensitive items, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Sometime in the first week of July, Lewandowski called [then White House Deputy Chief of Staff] Rick Dearborn to ask if he would be meeting with Sessions in the near future and if so, if he could pass a message. Dearborn had a longstanding relationship with Sessions, so Lewandowski thought he would be an appropriate person to deliver the message in his place. Dearborn agreed and Lewandowski said he would pass the message intended for Sessions in person.

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] Lewandowski knew the White House was busy dealing with the messaging regarding a meeting that had happened during the campaign. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] so he reached out to Dearborn again to see when he



Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Corey Lewandowski, On 04/06/2018, Page 5 of 8

would be meeting with Sessions. Dearborn told him they had a dinner scheduled that week and Lewandowski renewed the request for him to pass a message. Lewandowski contacted Dearborn [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP [REDACTED] in mid-July 2017 and learned Dearborn was scheduled to have dinner with Sessions the following night.

On July 19, 2017, Lewandowski and the President met alone in the Oval Office. [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP [REDACTED]

In the meeting, the President asked him if he had talked to Sessions, and Lewandowski said the message would be delivered soon.

At the conclusion of his meeting with the President, Lewandowski left the Oval Office and went to the anteroom just outside, where he saw Dearborn. Lewandowski handed Dearborn the typed copy of his notes and said something to the effect of, "this is the message we talked about."

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Corey Lewandowski , On 04/06/2018 , Page 6 of 8

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Lewandowski met with Hicks at around 6:30 pm that day. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] While Lewandowski and Hicks were together, the President called Hicks to talk about the interview and expressed that he was happy with how it was playing out.

[REDACTED]

Lewandowski told Hicks about the President's request and joked about the idea of firing Sessions as a private citizen. He thought he told Hicks that the President had said if Sessions did not meet with Lewandowski, to tell Sessions he was fired. [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Corey Lewandowski, On 04/06/2018, Page 7 of 8

### Discussions about Recess Appointments

The same day as the New York Times interview, Lewandowski conducted research on recess appointments on his own. [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Lewandowski did not share the results of his research with the President.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Corey Lewandowski, On 04/06/2018, Page 8 of 8

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C  
b7E

b5 per DOJ/OIP



Cory Lewandowski

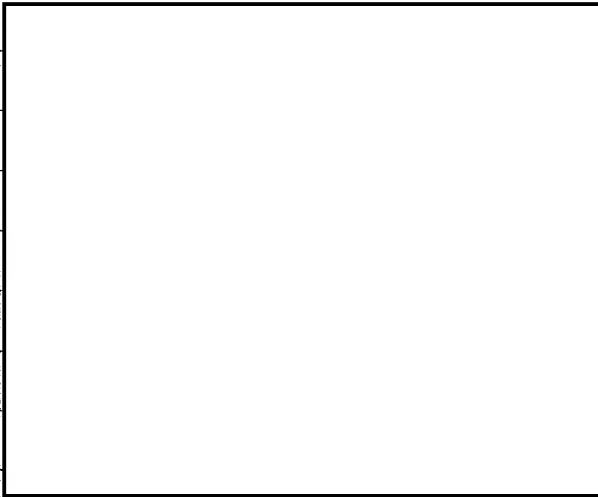
4/5/18 - 3:00 PM

Cell Phone

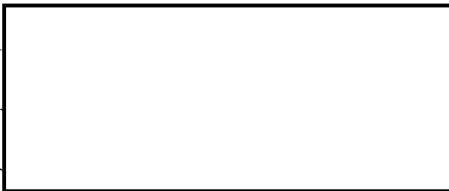
b6

b7C

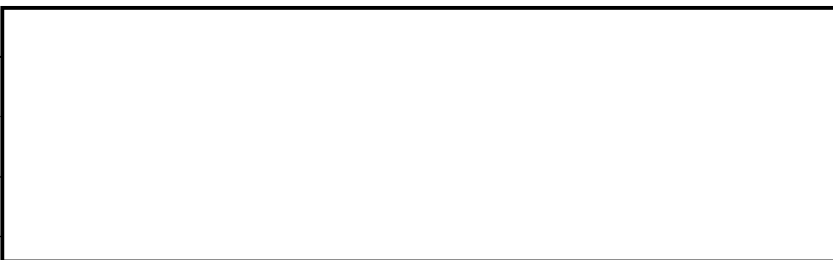
b7E



b5 per DOJ/OIP



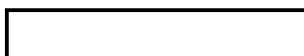
b5 per DOJ/OIP



b5 per DOJ/OIP



FBI(19cv1278)-872



b5 per DOJ/OIP

Notes - mid June 2017 - Moore else there -

- Dual Office - Just two [redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- Lemo about S.S. lack of moral  
- Pres critical - wanted to have known him

- Pres asked to deliver message  
- write this down

- Dictated to him from Pres.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- You know Jeff Sessions?

- Never would've appreciated weak

- Can you go talk to him?

- He wanted GL to have JS make a speech

- Dictated exactly what to say.

- Wanted to put him back on track / favorable in public.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- Postponed the meeting
- Never met or deliver the message
- Didn't want DOJ guide

Also Postponed - we'll set up another time

- Rick Granberry - Reached out
- see if meeting w/ any time in near future

- Spoke to R.D. to have him deliver message
- R.D. has long standing relation ship.
- In-person message - Worked in person noting
  - Didn't think would have that relayed → coming from Sweden
  - over the phone

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

See President again - R.D. there also see JS?

- When next time [have dinner w/ J.S. next day]
- Following evening w/ Al -
- wanted to make sure have copy of message
- Message being delivered when asked

2/2012 - meeting in oval office

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

- R.D. antiroom outside of oval - have copy of notes
- R.D. Advice of message to deliver to President

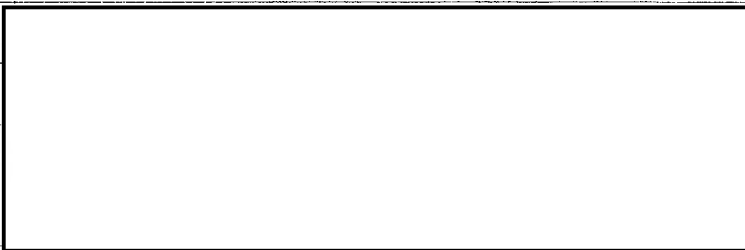
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]



b5 per DOJ/OIP



President will?

7/2012  
mid  
July

- Said message was going to be delivered soon.



b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6

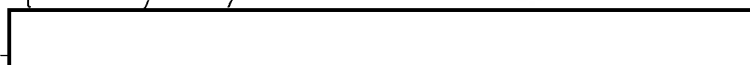
b7C



b5 per DOJ/OIP



Why not just phone? He could've



b5 per DOJ/OIP

- Didn't want to deliver on phone or @ DOJ
- Wanted to deliver in person
- Didn't want S.C. to have an advantage of DOJ office.

~

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Left Oval - wanted to deliver as quick as possible

- Didn't know what follow-up would happen

Reached out, was unable

- Didn't stay in town -

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

May have also been on  
of country

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Reached out to R.D.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

7/19 Oval Office

- RD much not prior - have notes

- Having dinner w/ sessions next day

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- R.D. knew <sup>54</sup> for a long time.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

Dictated - No thought process on content

- Said take this down

[REDACTED]

- Took out note cards wrote as fast as possible

[REDACTED]

- Shortly after contacted J.G.

[REDACTED]

Street view

[REDACTED]

- Meeting on following day, planned on reviewing/reading notes  
didn't get to that point because postponed

- Notes in safe at home - S.O.P.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

- [REDACTED] typed up - didn't get one word, said that's alright

- R.D. - Filled up printout said this is the message to give.

[REDACTED]



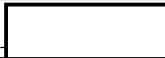
b5 per DOJ/OIP

*Flacks*



b5 per DOJ/OIP

*Recess Appointment*



b5 per DOJ/OIP



*- Prior shared w/ Pres.*

*- Recess appointment research conducted after this article/interview*



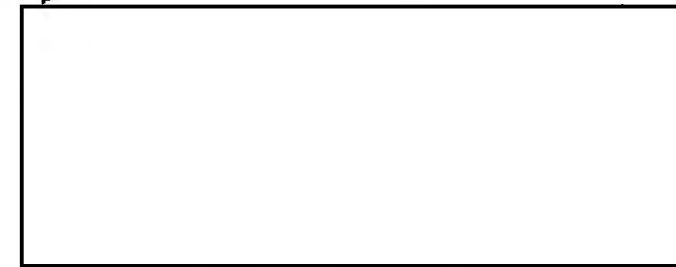
b5 per DOJ/OIP



①  
Corey R. Lewandowski

I know that I  
refused myself from  
certain things having to  
do w/ specific Areas.  
But our POTUS [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP



[REDACTED] is being treated

very unfairly. HE  
shouldn't have a special  
Prosecutor / Counsel.  
B/C he hasn't done anything  
wrong.

I WAS on the campaign  
within 9 months,

there were no Russians  
involved with him.

I knew it for a fact  
b/c I was Ref. He  
didn't do anything wrong  
except he ran the  
Grassroots campaign in  
American History.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

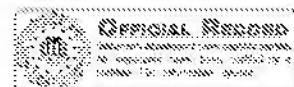


Corey R. Lewandowski

③

Now A group of people  
want to submit the  
constitution of the U.S.  
I am going to meet w/  
the Special Prosecutor  
to explain this is very  
unfair + let the  
Special Prosecutor move  
forward w/ investigating  
election meddling for  
future elections so that  
nothing can happen in  
future elections.





## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~

FBI INFO.

CLASSIFIED BY: NSICG [REDACTED]

REASON: 1.4 (C)

DECLASSIFY ON: 12-31-2043

DATE: 11-14-2019

Date of entry 03/29/2018

b6  
b7C

HOPE CHARLOTTE HICKS was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, located at 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC. Hicks was accompanied by her attorneys [REDACTED] Present for the interview were Supervisory Special Agent (SSA) [REDACTED] Special Agent (SA) [REDACTED] James L. Quarles, Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel, Jeannie S. Rhee, Senior Assistant Special Counsel, and Andrew Goldstein, Senior Assistant Special Counsel. Hicks was advised it is a crime to lie to the FBI in the course of an investigation, which she acknowledged. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, Hicks provided the following information:

b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

Investigation on 12/08/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 02/22/2018

by [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7E

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 2 of 23b5 per DOJ/OIPb6  
b7Cb5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIPb6  
b7Cb5 per DOJ/OIPb6  
b7C

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~~SECRET~~Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 3 of 23

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] It was about 3:00 am  
[REDACTED] She received a call from a telephone  
number with a 202 area code, and a foreign person was on the other end of  
the line. Hicks had a hard time understanding the person but she could  
make out the words "Putin call." [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] She asked the caller to send her an email, which he  
did. Once she received it, she forwarded it to Kushner. [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] The Russians sent a  
letter, which she gave to transition officials. She had some back and

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 4 of 23

b5 per DOJ/OIP

forth exchanges with Sergey Kuznetsov,

She remembered their first call and that they exchanged emails,

Hicks reviewed an email (labelled "Exhibit 40") and confirmed she received it after the phone call. She was not sure if the situation was legitimate, which is why she sent it to Kushner to verify.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

quoted Hicks as saying the campaign had "no contact with Russian officials." She had received press inquiries about it, because someone had said the campaign was in constant contact with the Russian government. Nothing Hicks had seen led her to believe that was true. She acknowledged her answer to the newspaper was overbroad, but she checked in with a few people after the fact to validate it. She recalled she talked to Kellyanne Conway and Stephen Miller.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

She asked Jason Miller and probably asked Kushner. She thought she reached out to Conway and Bannon.

Hicks told that group she was planning to respond to the press and there was no hesitation or pushback from any of them.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 5 of 23

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b7E

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 6 of 23b5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIPb6  
b7C  
b7Eb5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIP

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 7 of 23

b5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIP Trump told Hicks Obama told him to watch out for Flynn.  
Hicks thought the comment sat with Trump more than she expected.b5 per DOJ/OIP Flynn's and his son's tweets  Trump thought Flynn had  
bad judgment. Hicks thought the tweets bothered Trump  It bothered b5 per DOJ/OIP  
Trump that both Flynn and his son sent bad tweets. b5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIP

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 8 of 23

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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~~SECRET~~Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 9 of 23b5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIP

(S)

b1  
b3

(S)

b5 per DOJ/OIPb1  
b3

(S)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

b7E

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 10 of 23b5 per DOJ/OIP(S) b1  
b3b5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIP(S) b1  
b3Flynn was "sort of on  
thin ice already" at that point.b1  
b3  
b5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIP(S) b1  
b3~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

b7E

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 11 of 23

(S)

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b1  
b3

(S)

(S)

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

(S)

b5 per DOJ/OIP

(S)

b1  
b3

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) . On 12/08/2017 , Page 12 of 23b5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIP

Trump said he never held Comey back or kept him in his office. Hicks thought Trump meant that he had not asked Comey to stay,

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET~~

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 13 of 23b5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIP Trump "scolded" Sessions in her presence but she was not sure exactly what they said or when exactly it happened.  Trump was very angry. b5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIP

In the interview, Trump responded to a question about whether it was too late to fire Comey by saying it was not too late, he had confidence in Comey, and "we'll see what happens."

b5 per DOJ/OIP

 Hicks suggested they also edit out the answer about Comey, but Trump wanted to keep it in, which she thought was unusual. 

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~~SECRET~~

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 14 of 23b5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIP

b1  
b3

b5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIP

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) . On 12/08/2017 . Page 15 of 23

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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~~SECRET~~Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) . On 12/08/2017 . Page 16 of 23b5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIP

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[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) . On 12/08/2017 . Page 17 of 23

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 18 of 23

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

After the news of Comey's termination broke, [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] He asked  
Hicks to get someone out there to defend him. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Trump was frustrated with the coverage.

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] Trump wanted Spicer, Conway, and Hicks all to get on  
television and defend him. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 19 of 23

Trump's meeting with [Russian Foreign Minister Sergey] Lavrov and Kislyak on May 10, 2017.

b5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIP

The day prior (May 18, 2018), Trump and Hicks had an off the record lunch with news anchors to discuss his foreign trip and had said similar things about Comey to that group. He said Comey was a "nut job" and was "crazy."

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Trump   
did not seem concerned, and said, "he is crazy."

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) . On 12/08/2017 . Page 20 of 23b5 per DOJ/OIPHe never said he did not say the things the media said he did.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET~~

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 21 of 23

b5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIP

When the Special Counsel was appointed on May 17, 2017, Trump was angry, surprised, and frustrated.  b5 per DOJ/OIP

she saw shortly afterward that Sessions  in his office.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

The only other time she had seen Trump like that was when the Access Hollywood tape came out during the campaign.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 22 of 23b5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIP

A day later, on the flight from Saudi Arabia to Tel Aviv, Israel, Trump took out Sessions' resignation letter and asked a group of people what he should do.

b5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIP

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~~SECRET~~

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) . On 12/08/2017 . Page 23 of 23

b5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIP in that interview, she was "throwing herself between the reporters and Trump to try to table some of it." Trump loved the interview b5 per DOJ/OIPb5 per DOJ/OIP~~SECRET~~


hope ticks



~~SECRET~~

b6  
b7C

(1)

FBI INFO  
CLASSIFIED BY: NSICG   
REASON: 1.4 (C)  
DECLASSIFY ON: 12-31-2042  
DATE: 11-14-2019

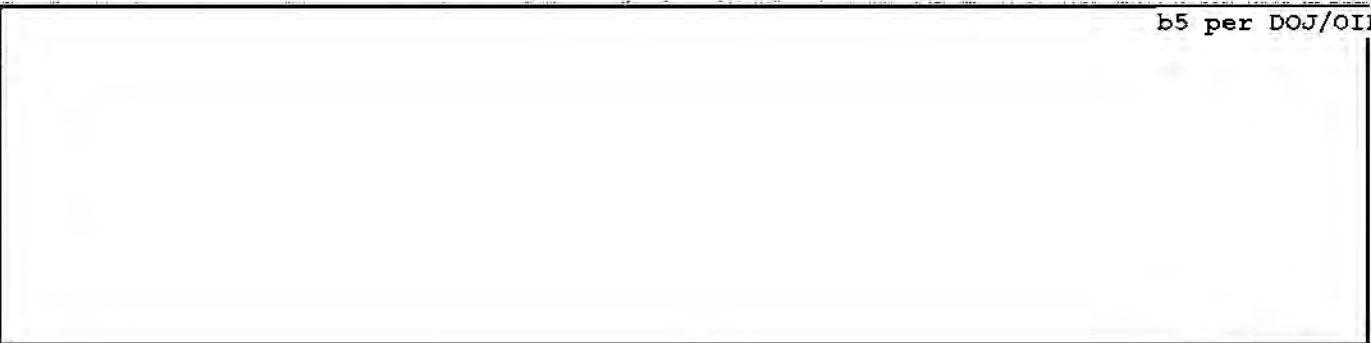
Andrew  
SLQ

12/8/2017

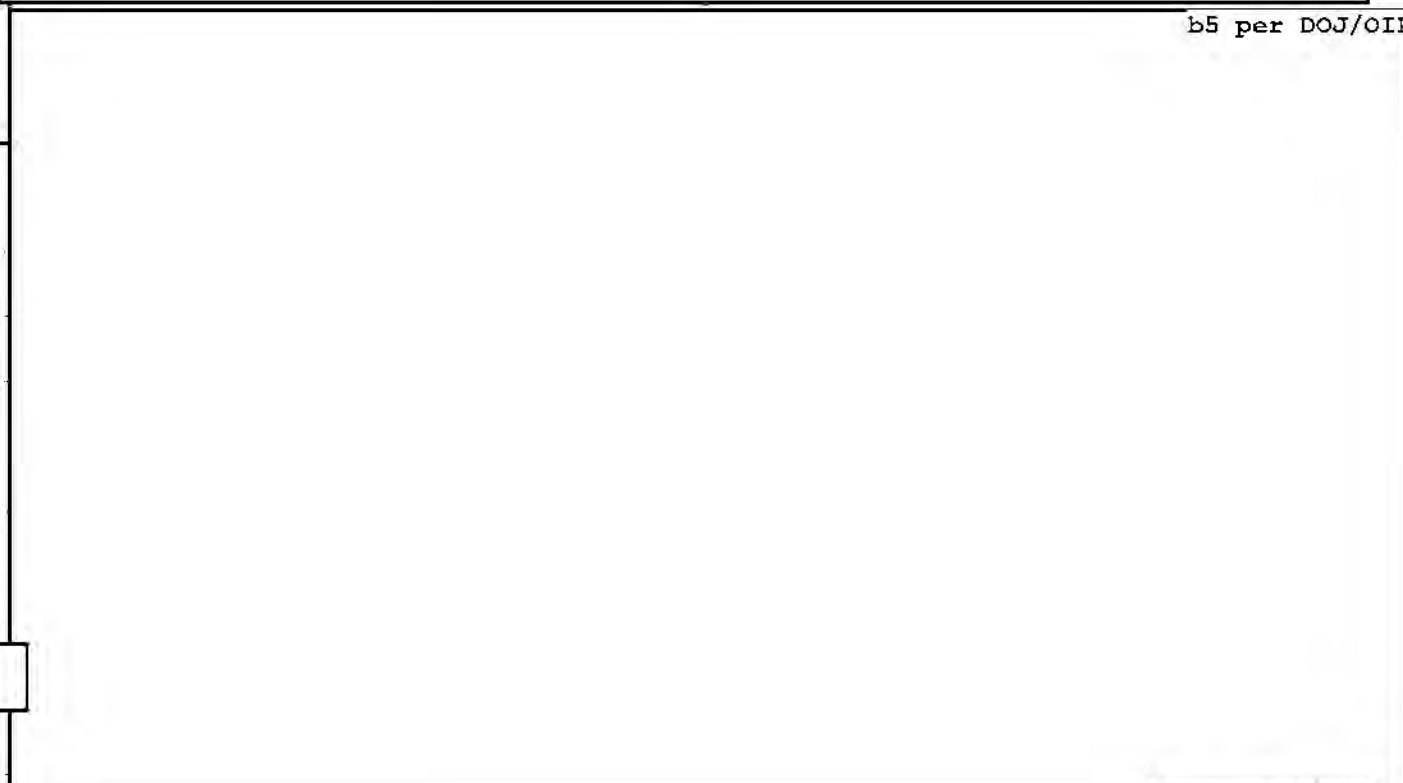
b5 per DOJ/OIP



b5 per DOJ/OIP



b5 per DOJ/OIP



b5 per DOJ/OIP



b6  
b7C

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

4

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Election day. Russian reach out After speech  
3am, [redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP  
Phone rang.

000 #. Picked up and person on end was  
foreign, hard to understand could make out  
"Putin call" [redacted]

[redacted] Asked  
caller to send her an email. GOT. Email forwarded  
to JK [redacted]

Asked JK who it was. Russian ambo?

~~SECRET~~

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~~SECRET~~

(5)

11/9/18 next day.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

sent letter initially HH gave to transition officials.  
had some back/forth w/ Sergey Kuznetsov.  
# calls w/ Kuznetsov? don't know other than 1st one.  
Remember emails

b5 per DOJ/OIP

#  
(40)

b5 per DOJ/OIP

did you think was legit? had no idea sent  
it to Jared, so he could verify.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

post-election quote [redacted] "no contact  
w/ Russian officials" Getting press inquiries  
someone (Russian) said they were in constant  
contact w/ Russian abv it Press asked  
about it [redacted]

did a touch base w/ couple people: KAC, SM

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

called Jason Miller - Jared was with us. Prob asked him.  
Prob reached out to RB, KAC. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
told them planned to respond to press? yes.  
no hesitation or pushback from them.

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET~~

12

Lunch Break

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

U

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

b1  
b3

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

MF was sort

of on two is already not

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

thru  
DT  
tail

mentioned to watch out for gen. Flynn  
Hil surprised. Seemed to be sitting w/  
DJT more than HH expected.

Flynn's tweets - really bothered DJT  
they both tweets  
bad things. Son thing bothered him -

b5 per DOJ/OIP

MF + Son's tweets

b5 per DOJ/OIP

DJT though ~~not~~ bad judgment on MF  
bothered DJT

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

DJT doesn't think Comey pulled him aside or held him back

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

DJT sd he never held anybody bk or kept in office. Thinks DJT meant it wasn't like DJT asked him to stay

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP



b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

3 AG refusal - DJT not happy [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Pres scolded AG when Ht  
there but not sure what was sd.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Pres very angry [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

HH sd they

Shld prob also edit answer re Comey bc  
- good intvw, will make news - DJT was ok  
w/ it which is unusual

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

, asked H11 to get someone to defend

[REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

34

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

told them to find someone to put on TV.  
DIT wanted SS, KC, HH all to go on TV.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

Day after Conroy firing - meet w/ Larrov / Krishyak

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

FBI(19cv1278)-947

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

(30)

5/18  
Thurs.

(they had lunch day b4 - off-record lunch w/ news anchors on foreign trip. DJT sd similar things in lunch)

- Comedy specific - "out job" - pres. told reporter he was crazy,

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

- told DJT

this is what is says you said in notes  
DJT looked for a minute, didnt seem concerned  
sd "he is crazy"

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

never sd he didnt say those things

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

5/17

Special Counsel - DJT reaction "Anger, surprise,  
frustration"

one saw shortly after  
in office.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

only other time was like when tape came  
out during camp

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Days later on tip DIT took out resign. letter from JS + asked what he should do

Saudi Arabia →  
Tel Aviv

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]



## throwing herself b/w reporters + DJT  
to try + fabricate some of it  
DJT loved the intro, [redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

12/8/17 H.H.

[redacted]  
b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]  
b5 per DOJ/OIP

Russian congrats  
- 4<sup>th</sup> call from 202 # (maybe) - foreign - personal call

[redacted]  
b5 per DOJ/OIP

11/9 -

sent letter first

Kutznetsov was the one arranging call

[redacted]  
b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]  
b5 per DOJ/OIP

UNCLASSIFIED

Physical 1A/1C Cover Sheet for Serial Export

b6  
b7C

**Created From:**

[REDACTED]

b7E

**Package:**

**Stored Location:**

None

**Summary:**

(U) Notes; documents  
shown to Hicks

b6  
b7C

**Acquired By:**

[REDACTED]

**Acquired On:**

2017-12-08

**Attachment:**

(U) Documents shown to  
Hicks

b6  
b7C

FD-340 (Rev. 4-11-03)

File Number [redacted]

Field Office Acquiring Evidence [redacted]

Serial # of Originating Document [redacted]

Date Received 12/8/2017

From Hope Hicks

(Name of Contributor/Interviewee)

(Address)

(City and State)

By SA [redacted]

To Be Returned ☐ Yes ☒ No

Receipt Given ☐ Yes ☒ No

Grand Jury Material - Disseminate Only Pursuant to Rule 6 (e)  
Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure

☐ Yes ☒ No

Federal Taxpayer Information (FTI)

☐ Yes ☒ No

Title: [redacted]

Reference: Interview of Hope Hicks

(Communication Enclosing Material)

Description: ☒ Original notes re interview of

Hope Hicks ; documents

b6  
b7C

Document ID: 074249319368

From: sergey kuznetsov [redacted]  
To: hope hicks [redacted]  
Cc:  
Bcc:  
Subject: Extremely urgent message from president Putin  
Date: Wed Nov 09 2016 04:06:00 EST  
Attachments:

b6  
b7C

From : Sergey Kuznetsov [redacted]  
Sent : 11/9/2016 4:06:55 AM  
To : Hope Hicks [redacted]  
Subject : Extremely urgent message from president Putin

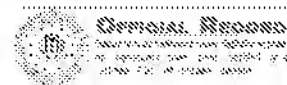
Dear Hope,  
I have a very important message from President Putin congratulating Mr. Donald Trump on his election.  
Please let me know how to best convey it.  
Thank you.

Best regards,  
Sergey Kuznetsov  
Congressional liaison  
Embassy of Russia to the USA  
202-298-5700

b5 per DOJ/OIP  
b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP  
b6  
b7C

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION****Collected Item Log**

Event Title: (U//~~FOUO~~) Evidence Collected, June 7, 2017 Date: 06/09/2017

DECLASSIFIED BY: NSICG [redacted]  
ON 06-13-2019

Approved By: [redacted]

Drafted By: [redacted]

Case ID #: [redacted] (U) ~~(S//NF)~~ [redacted]

b3 1  
b6 1  
b7C 1  
b7E 1,2

Reason: 1.4(b) (U)  
Derived From: FBI NSISC-  
20090615  
Declassify On: 20421231

Collected From: James Comey

b6 2  
b7C 2

Receipt Given?: Yes

Holding Office: WASHINGTON FIELD

**Details:**

(U//~~FOUO~~) On June 7, 2017, at approximately 10:15 a.m., Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Special Agents (SA) [redacted] and [redacted] collected four memorandums (memos) as evidence from James Comey at his residence at [redacted]

b6 1,2  
b7C 1,2

The memos collected are described as follows:

- One memo dated February 14, 2017, two pages;
- One memo dated March 30, 2017, two pages;
- One memo dated April 11, 2017, one page;
- One memo "last night at 6:30 pm," four pages.

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

[Redacted]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

b3 1  
b7E 1

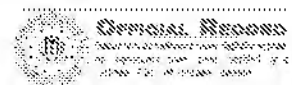
Title: (U//~~FOUO~~) Evidence Collected, June 7, 2017  
Re: [Redacted] 06/09/2017

Item Type	Description
1B General	(U// <del>FOUO</del> ) Four memorandums (memos) described as follows: One memo dated February 14, 2017, two pages; One memo dated March 30, 2017, two pages; One memo dated April 11, 2017, one page; One memo "last night at 6:30 pm," four pages. Collected On: 06/07/2017 10:15 AM EDT Seizing Individual: [Redacted] Collected By: [Redacted] Location Area: Residence Specific Location: [Redacted]

b6 1,2  
b7C 1,2

◆◆

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~



~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/16/2017

Former FBI Director James Comey was interviewed at his residence at [redacted]  
[redacted] This interview was scheduled in advance, for the purpose of providing certain classified memoranda (memos) to Comey for review. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the interview, Comey provided the following information:

b6 2  
b7C 2

After reviewing the memos, Comey spontaneously stated, to the best of his recollection, two were missing.

In the first occurrence, Comey said at an unknown date and time, between January 7, 2017, which Comey believed was the date of his briefing at Trump Tower, and Trump's inauguration on January 20th, 2017, Comey received a phone call from President Elect Donald J. Trump. The originating telephone number may have had a New York area code. Following the telephone conversation, Comey drafted and e-mailed a memo to James Rybicki and FBI Deputy Director Andrew McCabe.

In the second instance, Comey was on his way to a FBI leadership conference in Leesburg, Virginia (March 9, 2017) when he was diverted to Liberty Crossing to respond to a request from Trump to contact him. Comey contacted Trump from Liberty Crossing on a Top Secret telephone line. The conversation was "all business" and related to [redacted]  
[redacted] Comey is less sure he drafted a memo for this conversation but if he did, he may have sent it on the FBI's Top Secret network.

b5 per DOJ-OIP

Comey observed that the second page of the memo dated March 30, 2017, had the incorrect banner line classification of SECRET//NOFORN rather than UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO at the top and bottom of the second page.

~~Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI NSISC-  
20090615  
Declassify On: 20421231~~

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

Investigation on 06/07/2017 at [redacted] United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 06/07/2017

by [redacted]

b3 1  
b6 1,2  
b7C 1,2  
b7E 1



~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

b3 1  
b7E 1

Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of James Comey;  
Collection of Four Memos . On 06/07/2017 . Page 2 of 2

During the interview, at approximately 10:15 a.m., Comey voluntarily provided the interviewing Agents four memos. Comey had these memos in his possession when he met interviewing Agents. The memos collected are described as follows and will be maintained as evidence:

- One memo dated February 14, 2017, two pages;
- One memo dated March 30, 2017, two pages;
- One memo dated April 11, 2017, one page;
- One memo "last night at 6:30 pm," four pages.

#### Administrative

Comey signed an FD-597, Receipt for Property. A copy of the FD-597 was left with Comey. The original, signed FD-597, the memos reviewed by Comey, and interview notes will be maintained in the 1A section of this case file.

The memos provided to Comey for his review had previously been modified to include portion markings, banner lines, and classification authority blocks.

After being collected from Comey, the memos were locked securely in a General Services Administration approved safe located at the FBI Headquarters building, located at 935 Pennsylvania Ave, NW, Washington, DC, at approximately 2:00 p.m. the same day.

On Friday, June 9, 2017, the memos were transported and entered into evidence at the FBI Washington Field Office evidence control center.

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

FBI 18-CV-00932-4

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Receipt for Property

Case ID: \_\_\_\_\_

On (date) 6/7/2017

item(s) listed below were:

- ☐ Collected/Seized  
☒ Received From  
☐ Returned To  
☐ Released To

(Name) James Comey

(Street Address) [redacted]

(City) [redacted]

b6 2  
b7C 2

Description of Item(s): ON 6/7/2017, the following items were received from Mr. Comey at the above address:

- one memo dated 2/14/2017, two pages
- one memo dated 3/30/2017, two pages
- one memo dated 4/11/2017, one page
- one memo "last night at 6:30 pm," four pages

Received By [redacted]

Printed Name/Title: SA [redacted]

Received From [redacted]

Printed Name/Title: James B. Comey

(Signature)

b6 1  
b7C 1

6/7/17

Compy Jones

[redacted]

(1)

called one evening on my cell at my office  
night think my cell phone

blw the 7th briefing at Trump tower and in private  
2-12

pmw + Pyhika and McCabe

(2)

class directed to LX

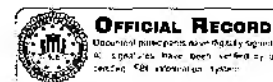
Leadership and @ Leeburg  
called him on my JS  
all together

Apr. 1 some time

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ-OIP

len ruc about an email  
in yellow



~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 12/19/2016

b6 -2  
b7C -2

DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL

Do not disseminate outside the FBI without the permission of the originator or program manager.

Bruce OHR, [REDACTED] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR met [REDACTED] in 2007, sometime before a January 2008 conference they both attended. OHR remembers he was at a conference when

[REDACTED] and their first interaction took place prior to that event. As the Chief of DOJ's Organized Crime and Racketeering Section at the time, OHR met [REDACTED] in London at [REDACTED] [REDACTED] was an expert on Russia, specifically Russian organized crime, and was concerned the west was not taking the Russian threat seriously. Russian oligarchs are brilliant yet cold-blooded and do not act like adults as they kill people for nothing. Over the years OHR and [REDACTED] had a few more meetings before OHR left [REDACTED] and joined or founded Orbis. [REDACTED]

b1 -1  
b3 -1  
b6 -2, 3  
b7C -2, 3  
b7D -1  
b7E -2, 3, 4

[REDACTED] OHR and [REDACTED] would see each other once a year in London or the U.S. [REDACTED] had paid clients, yet provided OHR with the same short intel reports from a [REDACTED] OHR introduced [REDACTED]

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR believes that [REDACTED]

b3 -1  
b7D -1  
b7E -2, 4

Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISC-20090615  
Declassify On: 20411231

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 11/22/2016 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 11/22/2016

by [REDACTED]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~b3 -1  
b7E -1Continuation of FD-302 of ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Interview of Bruce Ohr, On 11/22/2016, Page 2 of 3

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR believes Russian oligarchs will provide information to the FBI because in Russia everyone talks to the police. Following the 2014 Ukrainian invasion OHR met [REDACTED] OHR recalled the three talked about engaging with prospective oligarchs, and that meeting led to a meeting between the FBI, [REDACTED]

b1 -1  
b7A -1  
b6 -2, 3  
b7C -2, 3  
b7E -4

(U//FOUO) [REDACTED]

b7D -1, 2  
b7E -4

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ In late July 2016, possibly Saturday, July 30, 2016, [REDACTED] called OHR and asked to meet for breakfast as he/she was in Washington, D.C. and had some serious stuff to talk about. [REDACTED] planned to also tell SA [REDACTED] about the information he/she had collected. OHR met [REDACTED] for breakfast where OHR was told that Carter Page had met with high level officials in Russia. Page met with Sechin and one other person. The media had already documented Page's trip to Moscow at that time. The FSB had Trump over a barrel [REDACTED]

b1 -1  
b3 -1  
b6 -1, 2, 3  
b7A -1  
b7C -1, 2, 3  
b7D -1, 2  
b7E -2, 3, 4

(S) [REDACTED] reported to [REDACTED] In addition, [REDACTED] was furious at [REDACTED] and was making a case against him. [REDACTED] were almost ready to talk to the U.S. about the money [REDACTED] stole. [REDACTED] claimed he had already given some of this reporting to SA [REDACTED] and planned to give the rest to him. At that time, [REDACTED] had provided [REDACTED] with two reports regarding these topics while Glen Simpson had four. OHR provided copies of notes he took during and after the meeting with [REDACTED] which are enclosed as attachments.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR knew Glen Simpson hired [REDACTED] to dig up Trump's connections to Russia. OHR's wife is a Russian translator and was hired to conduct open source research. Even though she did not know the goal of the project, she was able to surmise the purpose as the individuals she was researching were close to Trump. OHR knew that Glen Simpson was hired by a lawyer who does opposition research. OHR knew [REDACTED] reporting on Trump's ties to Russia were going to the Clinton Campaign, Jon Winer at the U.S. State Department and the FBI. OHR was aware that Simpson was passing [REDACTED] information to many individuals or entities and at times [REDACTED] would attend meetings with Simpson.

b7E -4

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR met [REDACTED] in Washington, D.C. in late September, possibly close to the time when the Yahoo news article was published on September 23, 2016. During that meeting, [REDACTED] advised the Alfa server in the US is a link to the Trump campaign and Sergei Millian's Russian/American organization in the U.S. used the Alfa server two weeks

b7E - 4

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FBI(18cv2107)-2

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

(U)

Continuation of FD-302 of (S//OC/NF) Interview of Bruce Ohr , On 11/22/2016 , Page 3 of 3

prior [REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] was desperate that Donald Trump not get elected and was passionate about him not being the U.S. President. OHR believes [REDACTED] wanted to blunt or foil the Kremlin's plans. Simpson and [REDACTED] could have met with Yahoo or Michael Isikoff jointly, but OHR does not know if they did. OHR provided copies of notes he took after the meeting with [REDACTED] which are enclosed as attachments.

b3 -1  
b7E -1b1 -1  
b3 -1  
b6 -1, 3  
b7C -1, 3  
b7E -4

(U)

(S//OC/NF) OHR never believed [REDACTED] was making up information or shading it. He/she would say this is what [REDACTED] are telling me. There are always Russian conspiracy theories that come from the Kremlin. One time OHR heard a theory from [REDACTED]

b7D -1, 2  
b7E -3, 4

[REDACTED] OHR honestly believes [REDACTED] reported what he heard from [REDACTED] but that doesn't make that story true.

(U)

(S//OC/NF) Jon Winer possibly knew [REDACTED] OHR met Winer in 1999 or 2000 when Winer was the U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Law Enforcement. Winer was very interested in Russian Organized Crime and enthusiastic about the subject, yet at times difficult to deal with. OHR knew Glen Simpson and others were talking to Victoria Nuland at the U.S. State Department.

b6 -1  
b7C -1  
b7E -4

(U)

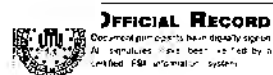
(S//OC/NF) OHR does not know how [REDACTED] handles or communicates [REDACTED] OHR does not know the identity of [REDACTED]

b7D -1, 2  
b7E -4

(U)

(S//OC/NF) OHR provided the following contact information for [REDACTED]

b6 -4  
b7C -4  
b7D -1  
b7E -4~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~



~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 12/19/2016

DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL

Do not disseminate outside the FBI without the permission of the originator or program manager.

Bruce OHR, [REDACTED] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR has never [REDACTED] On one occasion, OHR met with [REDACTED]

b6 -1  
b7C -1  
b7D -2  
b7E -4

[REDACTED]

(S)

b1 -1  
b3 -1  
b6 -1  
b7C -1  
b7E -4

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR has never been present during meetings between [REDACTED] and Jon Winer. OHR is only aware that [REDACTED] and Winer have met as [REDACTED] advises OHR that the meetings occur.

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Glen Simpson directed [REDACTED] to speak to the press as that was what Simpson was paying [REDACTED] to do. OHR does not know if [REDACTED] going to Mother Jones was Simpson's idea or not.

b7E -4

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Glen Simpson hired OHR's wife to conduct research for his firm. OHR will voluntarily provide his wife's research to the FBI. OHR provided the interviewing Agent with a report on Paul Manafort. The report titled, "Manafort Chronology", was scanned and is a digital attachment to this document.

Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISC-20090615  
Declassify On: 20411231

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 12/05/2016 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File [REDACTED] Date drafted 12/12/2016

by [REDACTED]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

(U)

b3 -1  
b7E -1

Continuation of FD-302 of ~~(S//OC/NF)~~  Interview of Bruce Ohr, On 12/05/2016, Page 2 of 2

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~





~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 12/19/2016

b6 -2  
b7C -2

DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL

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Bruce OHR, [REDACTED] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR had breakfast at Peet's Coffee, 11th and E St. NW, Washington, D.C. with Glenn Simpson at 10:00 A.M. on December 10, 2016. During breakfast Simpson provided OHR with an 8GB Verbatim USB micro digital media drive (thumb drive). OHR does not know what is on the thumb drive but believes it is in regards to the work [REDACTED] was hired to do for Simpson. The thumb drive was entered into evidence at WFO as original evidence [REDACTED] and a working copy CD-ROM was produced for investigative use. An evidence FD-302 was generated and serialized to this file.

b7E -4, 5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR took notes after the meeting with Simpson to preserve his memory and referred to them during the interview. OHR's notes are an attachment to this document.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Simpson identified Michael Cohen, a lawyer in Brooklyn, NY as having many Russian clients in the Brighton Beach, NY area. Cohen is the go-between Russia and the Trump Campaign and replaced Paul Manafort and Carter Page. Cohen's wife's last name is Shusterman [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Cohen may have attended a meeting in Prague, possibly in September, regarding the Trump Campaign and the Russians.

b6 -1  
b7C -1

~~Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISC-20090615  
Declassify On: 20411231~~

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 12/12/2016 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 12/14/2016

by [REDACTED]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~b3 -1  
b7E -1Continuation of FD-302 of ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Interview of Bruce Ohr, On 12/12/2016, Page 2 of 3

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ According to Simpson, much of his collection about the Trump campaign ties to Russia comes from [REDACTED]

b6 -3  
b7C -3

(U) [REDACTED] Simpson does not know his name.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ A former Trump campaign official, possibly Rick Wilson, was talking about some of the Trump ties to Russia and the Trump Campaign tried to sue him for violating his non-disclosure agreement.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ A Russian senator and mobster named Torshin may be involved in running the Central Bank of Russia. Torshin's name comes up in in Law Enforcement Organized Crime circles as he is well known in a famous Spanish case that shows direct linkages between Russian Organized Crime, Torshin and the Russian Government. Torshin may have funneled Russian money to the National Rifle Association (NRA) to use in support of Trump. An NRA lawyer, [REDACTED] found out about the money pipeline and was very upset, but the election was over by the time she learned of it. Simpson stated there are pictures of Torshin with Trump. Simpson provided OHR with an article on the NRA and Torsion. The article is an attachment to this document.

b6 -1  
b7C -1

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Some of Simpson's staff believe the NRA spent an abnormally large amount of money during the election, possibly indicating Russian involvement, but others in his company disagree.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ The New York Times story from October 3, 2016, that downplayed the connection between Alfa Bank servers and the Trump campaign was incorrect. There was communication and it wasn't spam. [REDACTED]

b1 -1  
b3 -1  
b6 -1,3  
b7A -1  
b7C -1,3  
b7E -2,3

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Simpson received a bizarre tip on December 9 that the [REDACTED]

(U) [REDACTED] Simpson is not sure whether to believe this.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Simpson still thinks Sergei Millian is a key figure connecting Trump to Russia. Looking at Millian led Simpson's company to Cohen. Simpson would be surprised if Millian was still in the U.S. Simpson believes Millian is an SVR officer, however he is deducing this from Millian's alias, not because he was told Millian was SVR. Millian may have overseen many financial transfers from Russia to assist the Trump campaign.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Simpson asked [REDACTED] to speak to the Mother Jones reporter as it was Simpson's Hail Mary attempt.

b7E - 4

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FBI(18cv2107)-7

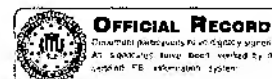
~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~b3 -1  
b7E -1(U) Continuation of FD-302 of  ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Interview of Bruce Ohr, On 12/12/2016, Page 3 of 3

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR asked Simpson if he was concerned about his personal safety. Simpson responded that he learned from his Russian investigative reporting what they were capable of but there was no way for him to know if they were coming after him. Simpson mentioned that someone called and asked him to find out where all of the Alfa Bank stories were coming from. Simpson did not state this was a threat from the Russians, but that was the impression made upon OHR based upon the timing of the comment and using that story as a response to OHR's question.

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FD-302 (Rev 5-8-10)

- 1 of 1 -



~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 12/27/2016

**DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL**

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Bruce OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ On December 20, 2016, at 11:00 A.M. OHR provided writer with an 8GB SanDisk Cruzer Glide USB micro digital data storage drive (thumb drive). Glen Simpson at Fusion GPS hired OHR's wife, Nellie Ohr, to conduct research for his firm. OHR voluntarily provided his wife's research to the FBI. OHR provided the interviewing Agent with the thumb drive and indicated it contained the totality of the work Nellie Ohr conducted for Simpson, but the Fusion GPS header was stripped. Nellie Ohr is a Russian linguist/analyst and a former Russian History professor. The thumb drive was entered into evidence.

~~Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISC-20090615  
Declassify On: 20411231~~

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 12/20/2016 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 12/20/2016

by [redacted]

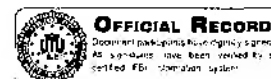
b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

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FBI(18cv2107)-9

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

- 1 of 2 -



~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 01/31/2017

DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL

Do not disseminate outside the FBI without the permission of the originator or program manager.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Bruce OHR, [REDACTED] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters, 935 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, DC. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Special Agent and Intelligence Analyst and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ On January 20, 2017, OHR received an e-mail from Glen Simpson asking OHR to contact Simpson. OHR subsequently contacted Simpson telephonically. During the telephonic conversation, Simpson told OHR that one of [REDACTED] has been identified and will likely be publicly named by the media within the next couple of days. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] When OHR asked for more information regarding [REDACTED] and the nature of the threat, Simpson replied he would contact Steele for more information and then re-contact OHR.

b6 -1, 4  
b7C -1, 4  
b7D -1, 2  
b3 -1

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ In the early hours of January 21, 2017, OHR received a text message from Steele which OHR did not notice until later in the morning. Around 8:00 am on the same day, OHR received call from Steele. During this conversation Steele relayed his concerns regarding the safety of [REDACTED]

Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISC-20090615  
Declassify On: 20421231

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 01/23/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 01/25/2017

by [REDACTED]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

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FBI(18cv2107)-10

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~b3 -1  
b7E -1(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Interview of Bruce Ohr 23

Continuation of FD-302 of January 2017

On 01/23/2017 Page 2 of 2

[redacted] was released in the media. Steele stated if [redacted] "may need help quickly."

[redacted]

b3 -1  
b6 -1, 4  
b7C -1, 4  
b7D -1, 2  
b7E -2, 3(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~b3 -1  
b6 -1, 3  
b7C -1, 3  
b7D -1, 2  
b7E -2, 3

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Steele also told OHR that he spoke with a staff member of Senator John McCain's office sometime prior to October 2016. Steele had this conversation at the request of [redacted]. Since October 2016, Steele had not spoken to anyone regarding the Trump dossier.

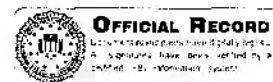
b6 -1  
b7C -1

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR took notes during the contact with Simpson and Steele to preserve his memory and referred to them during the interview. OHR's notes are an attachment to this document.

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FD-302 (Rev 5-8-10)

- 1 of 1 -



~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 01/27/2017

**DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL**

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(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Bruce OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDEF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters, 935 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, DC. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Special Agents and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ On January 24, 2017, OHR received a WhatsApp notification from Christopher Steele. On January 25, 2017, Steele contacted and spoke with OHR via WhatsApp. [redacted]

b3 -1  
b6 -1, 4  
b7C -1, 4  
b7D -1, 2  
b7E -3

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR took notes during the contact with Steele to preserve his memory and referred to them during the interview. OHR's notes are an attachment to this document.

~~Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISF-20090615  
Declassify On: 20421231~~

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 01/25/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 01/25/2017

by [redacted]

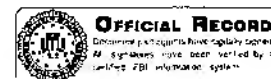
b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

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FBI(18cv2107)-12

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 01/27/2017

**DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL**

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(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Bruce OHR, [REDACTED] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters, 935 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, DC. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Special Agents and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ On January 27, 2017, OHR received a WhatsApp notification from Christopher Steele indicating [REDACTED] and Steele would like to keep the line of communication open with OHR for future contact. OHR replied in the affirmative.

b6 -4  
b7C -4  
b7D -2

Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISC-20090615  
Declassify On: 20421231

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 01/27/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 01/27/2017

by [REDACTED]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

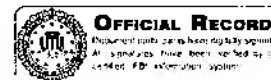
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FBI(18cv2107)-13



FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

- 1 of 2 -



~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/08/2017

DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL

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(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Bruce OHR, [REDACTED] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters, 935 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, DC. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Special Agents and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR stated he had been contacted by Christopher Steele, via WhatsApp, on January 31, 2017. On January 30, 2017, the Trump Administration fired Acting Attorney General Sally Q. Yates and Steele had contacted OHR to determine if OHR anticipated being fired as well and, if so, who in the Department of Justice could he continue to reach out to. OHR added that he had previously explained to Steele at some point, his contact with the U.S. Government would have to involve the FBI. Interviewing agents asked OHR to ask Steele if he would be comfortable getting the name of an FBI agent.

(S) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR advised Kathleen Kavalec, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, U.S. Department of State would be meeting [REDACTED] representatives in order to discuss potential Russian influence in their upcoming Presidential elections. OHR reminded the interviewing agents Kavalec did speak with Steele several times prior to the 2016 US Presidential election and believed Steele's reporting to have generated from mainly [REDACTED]

b1 -1 Per DOS  
b6 -4  
b7C -4  
b7D -2

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR also advised [REDACTED] an attorney representing [REDACTED] explained his client felt [REDACTED] were recently complicated by the FBI, who he [REDACTED]

b1 -1  
b3 -1  
b6 -1, 3  
b7C -1, 3  
b7A -1

Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISC-20090615  
Declassify On: 20421231

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 02/06/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 02/08/2017

by [REDACTED]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

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FBI(18cv2107)-14

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~b3 -1  
b7E -1(U) [REDACTED]  
(S//OC/NF) Interview of Bruce Ohr 06

Continuation of FD-302 of February 2017  
felt viewed him as a criminal. [REDACTED] informed OHR that [REDACTED] would  
like to 'clean things up' and felt the circumstances surrounding the 2016  
US Presidential election had become 'too emotional.' OHR stated, as he  
understood it, [REDACTED] was informed of what was required during the FBI  
interview.

b3 -1  
b6 -1, 3, 4  
b7C -1, 3, 4  
b7A -1  
b7D -1  
b7E -2, 3

(U) (S//OC/NF) [REDACTED]

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

- 1 of 2 -



~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/15/2017

DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL

Do not disseminate outside the FBI without the permission of the originator or program manager.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Bruce OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters, 935 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, DC. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Special Agents and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR stated he had been contacted by Christopher Steele, via WhatsApp and OHR responded via FaceTime on 02/11/2017.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Steele advised OHR that [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted] OHR added [redacted]  
[redacted]

b6 -1, 4  
b7C -1, 4  
b7D -2

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Steele's company is continuing to work for both [redacted]  
[redacted] another attorney for [redacted]  
[redacted] However, OHR explained Steele is beginning to worry about his business and was preparing a [redacted] to broker a business relationship with the FBI. Steele advised OHR, 'You may see me re-emerge in a couple of weeks.'

b6 -1, 3, 4  
b7C -1, 3, 4  
b7A -1  
b7E -2, 3

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR responded he had yet to ask Steele if he would like to be provided with an FBI contact.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR also advised [redacted] was doing fine, but were still a bit "freaked out." However, it seemed to Steele that things were calming down and he was pleased about a recent CNN article that stated U.S.

~~Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISC-20090615  
Declassify On: 20421231~~

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 02/14/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 02/15/2017

by [redacted]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

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FBI(18cv2107)-16

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

b3 -1  
b7E -1

(U)

[Redacted]

~~(S//OC/NF)~~

Interview of Bruce Ohr 14

Continuation of FD-302 of

February 2017

~~Government investigations had confirmed some of the reporting in his~~  
dossier.

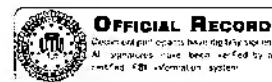
On 02/14/2017

Page 2 of 2

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

- 1 of 2 -



~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/10/2017

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ On 5/8/2017, SA [redacted] and SSA [redacted] interviewed BRUCE OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) at FBI Washington Field Office, 601 4th Street, Washington, DC. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -2, -5  
b7C -2, -5

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR and STEELE communicated via text message in WhatsApp and arranged a call for 5/3/2017 at 8:00 AM. STEELE told OHR that business was good.

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ STEELE had been worried about Director Comey's upcoming testimony to congress, especially his response to questions that would be raised by Representative Grassley. STEELE was specifically concerned about anything Director Comey would say [redacted]  
[redacted] STEELE was happy with Director Comey's response.

b3 -1  
b6 -4  
b7C -4  
b7D -2

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ In a previous conversation, STEELE had expressed concern for [redacted]  
[redacted]

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ STEELE informed OHR that the disclosure laws in the UK were more narrow than in the United States and therefore limited his ability to testify before Congress. STEELE cited specifically that he was restricted from [redacted]

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ [redacted] and had been on the staff of the [redacted] At the time of the interview, [redacted] was working with the [redacted]  
[redacted]

b6 -1, 4  
b7C -1, 4  
b7D -2

~~Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: National  
Security Information SCG  
Declassify On: 20271231~~

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 05/08/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)  
File # [redacted] Date drafted 05/08/2017  
by [redacted]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~b3 -1  
b7E -1

(U)

Continuation of FD-302 of 2017 Interview of Bruce Ohr 8 May 05/08  
On /2017, Page 2 of 2

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ GLENN SIMPSON of FUSION-GPS and [ ] would be visiting STEELE soon and were in the process of "lawyering up" (NFI).

b6 -1  
b7C -1

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ JONATHAN WINER was bringing over a letter separately (NFI).

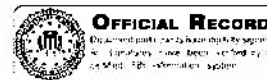
(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ STEELE was interested in working with the FBI and had additional information if the FBI was interested.

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FD-302 (Rev 5-8-10)

- 1 of 1 -



~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/12/2017

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ On 5/12/2017, SA [redacted] and SSA [redacted] interviewed BRUCE OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) at FBI Washington Field Office, 601 4th Street, Washington, DC. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -2, -5  
b7C -2, -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ STEELE sent OHR a text message in WhatsApp some time around Tuesday and they set up a call via WhatsApp for Wednesday 2:00 PM EST.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Over the course of their telephone call, STEELE informed OHR that he had received a letter from the Senate Intelligence Committee (SIC). The letter requested answers to the following questions:

1. Had STEELE provided information to the US Government?
2. What was the scope of STEELE's investigation?
3. Did STEELE have any additional information to provide?

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ STEELE mentioned that SIC was considering sending staffers to the UK.

b6 -2  
b7C -2

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ [redacted] requested that OHR ask STEELE if he would be willing to have a conversation with FBI agents in the UK. OHR agreed to pass along the message.

~~Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: National  
Security Information SCG  
Declassify On: 20271231~~

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 05/12/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)  
by [redacted] Date drafted 05/12/2017

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

- 1 of 1 -



~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/16/2017

b6 -2, -5  
b7C -2, -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ On 5/15/2017, SA [redacted] and SSA [redacted] interviewed BRUCE OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) at FBI Washington Field Office, 601 4th Street, Washington, DC. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ CHRISTOPHER STEELE sent OHR a text message in WhatsApp on or around Friday, 5/12/2017. The two set up a call via WhatsApp for Saturday at 9:00 AM EST.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Per FBI's previous request, OHR asked STEELE if he would be willing to meet with FBI agents. STEELE responded that the answer was an immediate yes but that he would need to check with [redacted]. [redacted] OHR was clear that this would be nothing more than a conversation with the FBI and STEELE said that would be alright.

b6 -1  
b7C -1

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ STEELE informed OHR that he had information regarding a conversation between [redacted]

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ STEELE contacted OHR via Whatsapp at 9:45 AM on Monday, 5/15/2017. STEELE said that [redacted] were both ok with him talking to the FBI.

b6 -1, 2  
b7C -1, 2

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ SSA [redacted] told OHR that he would communicate with headquarters regarding FBI agents meeting with STEELE and let him know when he received a response.

Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: National  
Security Information SCG  
Declassify On: 20271231

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 05/15/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)  
File # [redacted] Date drafted 05/15/2017  
by [redacted]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1





Josh Israel [Follow](#)

Journalist at The New York Times, author of "The NRA's Secret War on Russia" and "The NRA's Secret War on Russia"

## Why has the NRA been cozying up to Russia?

The Right to Bear Arms in Moscow enjoys a close relationship with America's leading gun-rights group.



Photo: The New York Times, photo of a man in a suit holding a rifle, standing next to a woman in a fur coat, with a Russian building in the background.

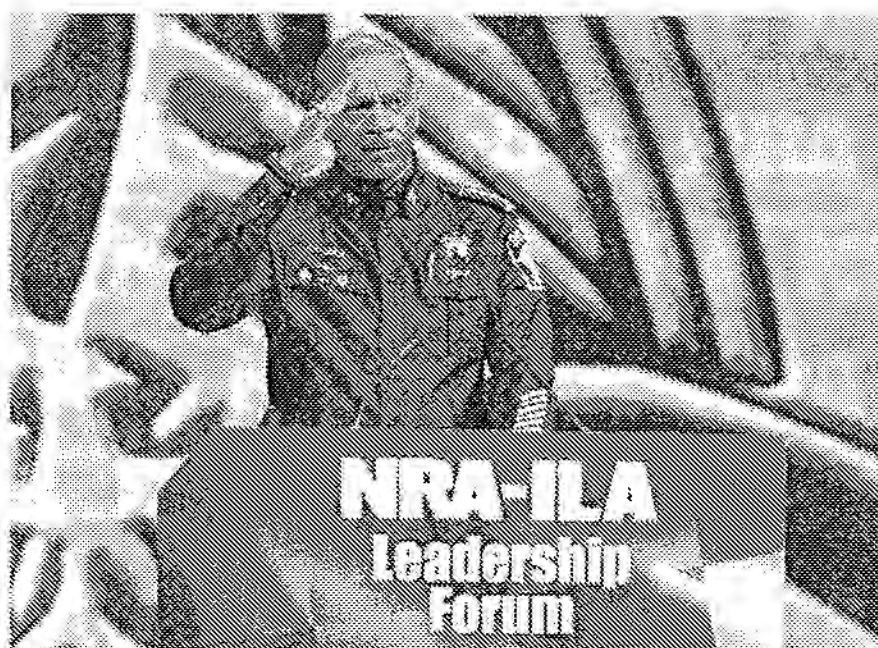
Throughout the 2016 presidential campaign, there was a steady stream of stories published about Donald Trump, his second campaign manager, his supporters at Wikileaks, and the ties they appeared to have to Russian President Vladimir Putin and the Russian Federation. Reporting also highlighted that, more than any other national organization, the National Rifle Association (NRA) went all-in to elect Trump.

But no attention was given to the ties between the NRA, a Russian gun-rights group run by a twenty-something gun activist named Maria Butina, and her close friend and boss, the deputy governor of the Russian central bank, Alexander Torshin.

Why does an American gun group that promotes gun rights as a defense against tyranny align itself with a group with close ties to an authoritarian regime? Why would Putin allies build a grassroots non-profit to loosen Russia's gun laws, rather than just enact them? Experts who spoke to ThinkProgress say they are not sure, but they discussed whether the whole arrangement is a cover for a larger effort to undermine American sanctions against Russia.

## A meeting in Moscow

On December 11, 2015, in the depths of a biting Moscow winter, The Right to Bear Arms hosted a delegation from its American counterpart, the NRA. David Keene, an NRA board member and former national president of the organization, flew to Russia to attend the event. Also at that meeting were NRA First Vice President Pete Brownell, CEO of the world's largest firearm accessories supplier; NRA funder Dr. Arnold Goldschlager and his daughter, NRA Women's Leadership Forum executive committee member Hilary Goldschlager; and Outdoor Life channel head Jim Liberatore. Perhaps the most famous guest at the gathering, trading his customary uniform for a black leather vest over a button-down shirt, was Milwaukee County Sheriff and Fox News regular David A. Clarke.



U.S. MARSHAL SERVICE LEADER JAMES CLARKE AT THE NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION'S 2014 CONVENTION. COURTESY: ANTHONY ALONSO

Clarke said little publicly about the event. Two weeks earlier, his office put out a vague press release noting that he would “travel to the Middle East and Asia beginning November 28, 2015 and returning December 13, 2015,” including that he’d “receive briefings on issues facing those regions and visit historic sites.”

But the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel’s Daniel Bice noticed that Clarke’s January 2016 ethics disclosure filing shed some light on the trip. Part one was \$20,155 trip to Israel, paid for by the NRA Ring of Freedom. During his week-plus of travel there, he did a remote interview from Jerusalem for Fox Business Network. The remaining days were spent in Russia. His airfare to Moscow and visas, totaling \$13,785.10, were paid for by Brownell; his \$6000 worth of meals, hotel, transportation, and excursions were provided by the “All-Russia Public Organization ‘The Right to Bear Arms.’”

Clarke’s office declined to release any records to Bice about the trip, the reporter wrote, “saying it was personal — not official — travel, even though personal trips (a.k.a. vacations) are not supposed to be listed on the ethics form.”

At that conference, according to a post on the Right to Bear Arms’ Facebook page, in addition to group’s chairman and founder Maria

Butina, a welcoming speech was delivered by honorary member of The Right to Bear Arms Alexander Torshin.



CNN/FOX The Right to Bear Arms Facebook page

## The Godfather and the Godmother?

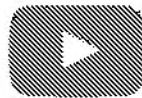
Maria Butina grew up in Altai, a mountainous area in southern Siberia, but moved to Moscow when she was 22. Almost overnight, she gained notice as the founder and chair of Russia's gun-rights movement. Reportedly a strong supporter of Putin and his United Russia Party, she helped start The Right to Bear Arms about five years ago as a non-profit organization. The group, she vowed, would not be a front for "any bloody lobby" and would be funded through dues from members. "I personally have a furniture and household appliances business," she told Russian newspaper Izvestia.

"People who give us money for work, they are usual gun owners because to have a gun in Russia is very expensive. So these people, they have money and they give us money," Butina explained in a 2014 interview with Townhall's Katie Pavlich. "We have no money from government, not one coin from government." The group now claims 10,000 members.

Though Russia's constitution does not contain Second Amendment-like gun rights, her rhetoric is remarkably similar to the NRA's. "More legal guns equal less crime," she told the Moscow Times this year, "If a country bans guns, only criminals have access to them."

After the Sandy Hook mass shooting in 2012, her group criticized gun-free school zones as ineffective prohibitionist policies. "In this shooting six teachers died, six people who could literally use only their hands to defend children... The murderer planned this knowing that no one would be armed," she told Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. "What is the right to life, ingrained in our constitution, if you don't have the right to bear arms? If a person wishes to defend himself, he has no means for protection."

Maria Butina, Chairman of the Russian orga...



Like the NRA, Butina tends to dismiss the connection between guns and death, including suicides. "People online take facts from my blog, turn them upside and scream 'Just look at this! In the States, 30,000 people die from firearms every year! How awful!' But so what?" she told the New Republic in 2012. "Switzerland has the most suicides using a gun, and yet, Switzerland has the least number of total suicides. Moreover, a gun is the most humane weapon for suicide compared to all the other methods that exist."

The same article noted that, early on, Butina "gained a powerful ally"—Alexander Torshin, who is an NRA Life Member, a "high-ranking member" of Putin's United Russia and, at the time, the first deputy speaker of the Russian senate.

The NRA took note when Torshin authored an unsuccessful bill that year that would have allowed public use of firearms. When he presented the bill to his colleagues, days after the Aurora, Colorado, movie theater shooting that left a dozen dead, his colleagues were

not sold. They feared Russians, too, would all shoot each other. "How can you have so little trust for yourself, for your people," he asked them. In 2014, however, Putin's government did change the law to allow licensed gun owners to carry weapons in public for self-defense.

After years serving in the upper house of parliament, in 2015 he was appointed deputy governor for Russia's central bank. Butina was appointed "special assistant" to Torshin at the bank.

Their close relationship is evident in their work and social media presence. In 2014, she praised him as a "great gun lover" who supports both The Right to Bear Arms group and the NRA. Last month, Torshin tweeted a photo of her holding a baby, calling her "the godmother" of the child.





Torshin also has been called "the godfather." While he's only admitted to having been a godfather in the religious sense, Spanish investigators claimed in an August report that the "Russian politician Alexander Porfirievich Torshin stands above [an alleged figure in the Moscow-based Taganskaya crime syndicate], who calls him 'godfather' or 'boss'" and conducted on his behalf "activities and investments." Torshin denied the allegation, telling Bloomberg "I'm a public individual and I'm not hiding anywhere."

Torshin told the New Republic's Julia Ioffe in 2012 that he admires the NRA because it represents "'stability' —the credo of Putin's reign."

## The Keene connection

In May of 2013, Torshin traveled to the NRA convention in Houston. Months later, he wrote about it in an Washington Times OP/ED about the passing of Mikhail Kalashnikov (the inventor of the AK-47). "Last year, I had the pleasure of attending the National Rifle Association's annual meeting in Houston," he recounted. "Kalashnikov couldn't join me, though we have both been 'life members' of the NRA for years. At 93, his health was even then beginning to fail, but I thought of him as I toured the exhibit area where I saw dozens of AK-47 clones." The opinion editor for the paper is the NRA's David Keene.

In between, Keene traveled to Russia for a fall 2013 gun conference, hosted by The Right to Bear Arms. Butina's online advertisements for the event specifically highlighted his participation, calling him "the former president of the legendary NRA." She chaired the event, Torshin attended, and Keene spoke. Keene posted a picture of his visit with Torshin on his personal website and shared it on Facebook. Weeks after the conference, Butina explained in a LiveJournal post that just because a foreign citizen is an NRA member, that does not necessarily mean they are a spy.

In April of 2014, Butina traveled to the NRA's annual meeting in Indianapolis. She was given the "rare privilege" of ringing the organization's replica of the Liberty Bell and presented a plaque to NRA President Jim Porter. She attended a women's luncheon as the

guest of former NRA President Sandy Froman and participated in the general meeting as Keene's special guest.

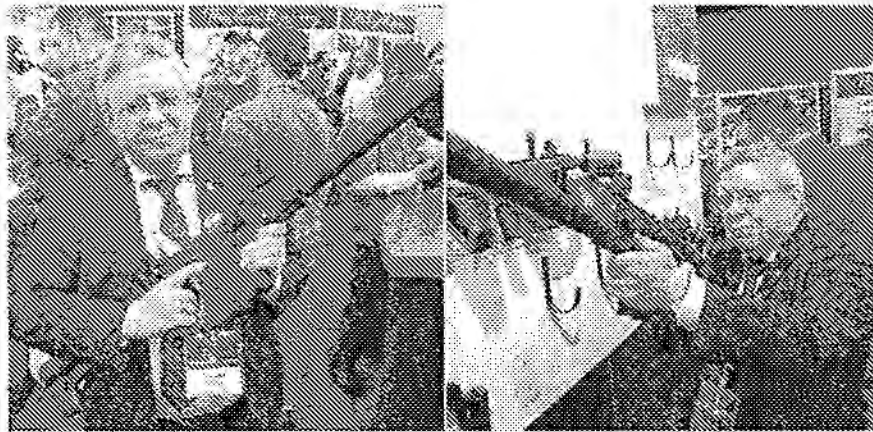


Butina blogged about her trip, noting that she was invited to speak at the exclusive Ring of Freedom dinner with “the patrons who donated” more than \$1 million to the NRA. Before leaving the country, she stopped by the organization’s national headquarters in Fairfax, Virginia, and posed for a picture with Keene.

Butina returned the following April for the annual convention in Nashville. She marveled about winning a necklace and earrings at the silent auction, attending the women-only NRA women’s forum, and about the lack of democracy in decision-making. “In spite of all democracy, foreigners, even if the members of the NRA, can not vote for the adoption of decisions,” she observed, noting that at The Right to Bear Arms, “we maintain direct democratic elections. In my opinion, as the founder of the organization, it is more fair to the citizens.”



Torshin attended the May 2016 convention in Louisville, Kentucky, meeting with Trump and even sharing a table with Donald Trump Jr. at one of the dinners.



А.П. Торшин

Follow

The Right to Bear Arms has a ways to go before they can develop the outsized level of influence its American counterpart enjoys. But in 2014, it successfully convinced the Russian parliament to pass a castle doctrine bill. Butina has talked a great deal about bringing the NRA's successful programs, like the group's Eddie Eagle curriculum for kids, to Russia.

## A hidden purpose?

Butina's interests appear to go beyond just guns. She frequently writes about her opposition to economic sanctions by the west, including those on Russian arms. In a 2015 article for *The National Interest*, she wrote, "It may take the election of a Republican to the White House in 2016 to improve relations between the Russian Federation and the United States."

Not long after Butina's 2014 visit, the NRA put out a little-noticed statement criticizing the Obama administration's sanctions against Russia. Noting that the crackdown included Russia's arms manufacturer, they wrote: "While the United States government blames the Ukrainian conflict for this latest move, gun control advocates will no doubt applaud the ban on importation of some of the very types of firearms at the center of recent domestic attempts

to ban so-called 'assault weapons.'" Weeks later, The Right to Bear Arms announced it would soon host another NRA representative in Moscow, "life member" Paul Erickson, for an "open meeting."

In 2015, Butina traveled around country following Republican presidential candidates. She attended Gov. Scott Walker's (R-WI) announcement speech in Waukesha, Wisconsin. As an audience member at a Trump campaign event in Las Vegas, she asked the candidate about sanctions and his commitment to lift them if elected.

Josh Horwitz, executive director of the Coalition to Stop Gun Violence, told ThinkProgress that U.S.-Russian economic ties, rather than gun rights, could be the real aim of The Right to Bear Arms. "I think the important thing is all those involved with this are close with Putin. If Putin wanted more guns in Russia, he doesn't need to develop an NRA in Russia to push him," he observed.

"What are the NRA officials doing cavorting around with people close to Putin? The NRA says they're the nation's oldest civil rights group. I could see them being in line with dissidents in Russia, who are out of power, discriminated against, and subjugated by the Russian government," he continued. "But the idea that the NRA is running around with someone who is basically a dictator—the question is why. The people he's running around with are all about removing sanctions on drilling and other things. I think this is more about getting out to the American Right the views about lifting the sanctions than anything about gun rights."

Josh Sugarmann, executive director of the Violence Policy Center, added that the sanctions could be of key interest to the NRA's financial backers as well. "The NRA is a gun industry trade association masquerading as a shooting sports foundation," he observed. "The organization has received tens of millions of dollars in gun industry financial support from around the globe and has partnered with gunmakers on a wide range of marketing efforts. The NRA's reasoning in working to establish a Russian beachhead could range from working to end Obama Administration sanctions that ban the import of Russian-made AK-47s and assault shotguns to

hoping for new financial donors as the result of a loosening of the country's gun laws."

Butina told ThinkProgress in an email that there are no financial connections between the American and Russian groups. "The Right to Bear Arms and your American NRA are completely separate organizations. We have no political or financial ties of any kind," she wrote, adding that they are "literally 'comrades in arms' in a shared belief that a right to own a firearm makes people safer."

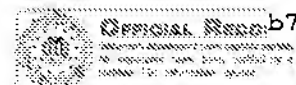
"I'm sorry to disappoint you," she wrote, "but there is no international conspiracy at work surrounding the organization I founded, 'The Right to Bear Arms.'" She added that her group's payments for Sheriff Clarke's visit and others in the NRA delegation were "something any decent host would do when friends visit," but did not respond to questions about whether other American politicians had also been brought to Moscow at the group's expense.

The National Rifle Association and Torshin did not respond to ThinkProgress inquiries about their relationship.

Now with Trump and Putin agreeing to normalize relations in the coming year, expect the already close relations between Trump's friends at the NRA and Putin's friends at The Right to Bear Arms to be closer still. Perhaps it will become evident just what these two groups are really up to.







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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/15/2017

DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL

Do not disseminate outside the FBI without the permission of the originator or program manager.

(U)

~~(S//NF)~~ On January 24, 2017, Deputy Assistant Director (DAD) Peter P. Strzok II and [redacted] interviewed United States (U.S.) National Security Advisor Michael T. FLYNN, date of birth (DOB) [redacted] at his office at the White House. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, FLYNN provided the following information:

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(U)

~~(S//NF)~~ FLYNN's first invitation to Russia occurred when he was the Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA). FLYNN was the first DIA Director to be invited to GRU headquarters. During that four day trip in 2013, he participated in a leadership development program at GRU (Russian Military Intelligence) headquarters. FLYNN received proper authorization within the U.S. Government prior to conducting the trip. FLYNN could not recall if he met Russia's Ambassador to the United States, Sergey Ivanovich KISLYAK, during this trip. FLYNN described the Russians as very appreciative of his visit. During this trip to Russia as DIA Director, FLYNN first met the then-GRU Director Igor SERGUN. Following the trip, FLYNN and SERGUN continued their relationship on at least one occasion through video teleconference (VTC) and were planning a visit for SERGUN to travel to the United States on February 28, 2014. Russia invaded Crimea in the weeks prior to SERGUN's planned trip, SERGUN's trip was cancelled, and FLYNN had no further contact with the GRU Director. FLYNN described SERGUN as having common ground with FLYNN in that they had similar backgrounds, their sons were the same age, and they had a connection in fighting terrorism. SERGUN had scars from Chechnya and they shared stories about Afghanistan. FLYNN stated he called Ambassador KISLYAK following SERGUN's death in

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Derived From: FBI  
NSIC-20090617  
Declassify On: 20421231

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Investigation on 01/24/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date dictated 01/24/2017

by [redacted] STRZOK PETER P II

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b7E -1Continuation of FD-302 of ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Michael Flynn, On 01/24/2017, Page 2 of 5

(U) Lebanon early last year to express his condolences. FLYNN described SERGUN as someone the U.S. could work with. FLYNN said he was not really part of the TRUMP campaign at the time of this call to KISLYAK.

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ FLYNN stated his second trip to Russia, after he left U.S. government service, had received so much press attention that "it [was] unbelievable." As background, FLYNN explained that he was never paid directly by media entities, however, he had been a contributor to a variety of media entities including Al Jazeera, Russia Today (RT), Sky, and MSNBC. FLYNN received a request from his speakers bureau, Leading Authorities (LAI), to speak about Middle East issues at the RT 10th Anniversary reception in Moscow. FLYNN was paid for the speech by LAI. FLYNN did not know from whom LAI received payment. FLYNN met with KISLYAK at the Russian Ambassador's residence next to the University Club prior to this trip to Russia. The visit was a courtesy call to the Ambassador prior to his trip, and FLYNN took his son with him to this meeting. The meeting occurred in the mid-afternoon. In addition, FLYNN received a DIA threat briefing prior to the travel.

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ Prior to the Presidential inauguration, FLYNN spoke to multiple representatives in each of approximately thirty countries' governments. FLYNN stated the only exception to that practice was Russia, in that FLYNN had substantive conversations only with KISLYAK, and no other members of the Government of Russia. FLYNN's interest in Russia was as a common partner in the war on terror. FLYNN does not know if PUTIN and TRUMP will get along, but it is FLYNN's job to figure out paths to work with Russia to fight terrorism. FLYNN named the primary threats to the U.S. as the "four plus one:" China, Russia, Iran, North Korea and ISIS. FLYNN stated if the U.S. could neutralize one of the four, or even better, leverage their cooperation fighting a common enemy such as terrorism, that would be a success for U.S. national security.

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b7E -1Continuation of FD-302 of ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Michael Flynn, On 01/24/2017, Page 3 of 5

(U) counterpart, and maintaining trusted relationships within foreign governments is important.

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ Shortly after Christmas, 2016, FLYNN took a vacation to the Dominican Republic with his wife. On December 28th, KISYLAK sent FLYNN a text stating, "Can you call me?" FLYNN noted cellular reception was poor and he was not checking his phone regularly, and consequently did not see the text until approximately 24 hours later. Upon seeing the text, FLYNN responded that he would call in 15-20 minutes, and he and KISLYAK subsequently spoke. The Dominican Republic was one hour ahead of the time in Washington, D.C. During the call, KISYLAK asked FLYNN to set-up a VTC between President-elect TRUMP and Russian President PUTIN on January 21st. In addition, FLYNN and KISLYAK discussed the U.S. sending an observer to a terrorism conference in Astana, Kazakhstan, that would be attended by Russia, Turkey, Iran and Syrian opposition groups. FLYNN stated he did not respond back to KISYLAK about the conference until probably this week. FLYNN did not make the decision on who would represent the U.S. until the 20th or 21st of January, and finally determined an observer from the U.S. Embassy in Astana would attend. FLYNN noted Russia wanted to take the lead for peace in the Middle East, but the U.S. needed to be the leader, particularly to keep Turkey under the U.S.'s wing. FLYNN added there was a complete lack of engagement from the prior administration.

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ The interviewing agents asked FLYNN if he had any other text, email, or personal meetings with KISLYAK or other Russians. FLYNN volunteered that after the election, he had a closed door meeting with KISYLAK and Jared KUSHNER at Trump Tower in New York City. KISLYAK was in New York to meet with his diplomats, and the three had a relatively sensitive meeting. FLYNN was a late addition to the meeting and did not participate in setting it up. FLYNN believed the meeting took place before Thanksgiving but was unsure of the date. FLYNN explained that other meetings between the TRUMP team and various foreign countries took place prior to the inauguration, and were sensitive inasmuch as many countries did not want the then-current administration to know about them. There were no personal relationships between the leaders of many countries and the prior administration. FLYNN stated that he and personnel from the incoming administration met with many countries "to set expectations for them, and the expectations were set very high."

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ The interviewing agents asked FLYNN if he recalled any discussions with KISLYAK about a United Nations (UN) vote surrounding the issue of Israeli settlements. FLYNN quickly

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b7E -1Continuation of FD-302 of  ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Michael Flynn, On 01/24/2017, Page 4 of 5

- (U) responded, "Yes, good reminder." On the 22nd of December, FLYNN called a litany of countries to include Israel, the UK, Senegal, Egypt, maybe France and maybe Russia/KISLYAK. Part of the reason for FLYNN's calls was to conduct an exercise to see how fast the incoming administration could get someone on the line. FLYNN likened it to a battle drill to see who the administration could reach in a crisis. The exercise was conducted at the campaign's GSA transition building on 18th and I Streets N.W., which FLYNN described as a somewhat chaotic environment. FLYNN stated he conducted these calls to attempt to get a sense of where countries stood on the UN vote, specifically, whether they intended to vote or abstain.
- (U) ~~(S//NF)~~ The interviewing agents asked FLYNN if he made any request of KISLYAK to vote in a particular way or take any action. FLYNN stated he did not. FLYNN stated he did not believe his calls to the various countries would change anything. FLYNN recalled there needed to be a certain number of abstention votes to alter the outcome, and that having looked at the math at the time, he knew it could not be achieved. FLYNN said 14 countries were voting, and had a recollection of the number of five votes being important. In the end, only the U.S. abstained. FLYNN stated his calls were about asking where countries would stand on a vote, not any requests of, "hey if you do this."
- (U) ~~(S//NF)~~ The interviewing agents asked FLYNN if he made any comment to KISLYAK about voting in a certain manner, or slowing down the vote, or if KISLYAK described any Russian response to a request by FLYNN. FLYNN answered, "No." FLYNN stated the conversations were along the lines of where do you stand, and what's your position. FLYNN heard through other channels that Egypt did not like the vote, and believed the Egyptians of their own accord delayed the vote a day. FLYNN again stated that he appreciated the interviewing agents reminding him that he had another conversation with KISLYAK.
- (U) ~~(S//NF)~~ The interviewing agents asked FLYNN if he recalled any conversation with KISLYAK surrounding the expulsion of Russian diplomats or closing of Russian properties in response to Russian hacking activities surrounding the election. FLYNN stated that he did not. FLYNN reiterated his conversation was about the PUTIN/TRUMP VTC and the "Astana thing" (the Kazakhstan conference described earlier). FLYNN noted he was not aware of the then-upcoming actions as he did not have access to television news in the Dominican Republic and his government BlackBerry was not working.

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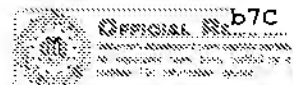
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b7E -1(U) [REDACTED] Continuation of FD-302 of ~~S//OC/NF~~ Michael Flynn . On 01/24/2017 . Page 5 of 5

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ The interviewing agents asked FLYNN if he recalled any conversation with KISLYAK in which the expulsions were discussed, where FLYNN might have encouraged KISLYAK not to escalate the situation, to keep the Russian response reciprocal, or not to engage in a "tit-for-tat." FLYNN responded, "Not really. I don't remember. It wasn't, 'Don't do anything.'" The U.S. Government's response was a total surprise to FLYNN. FLYNN did not know about the Persona Non-Grata (PNG) action until it was in the media. KISLYAK and FLYNN were starting off on a good footing and FLYNN was looking forward to the relationship. With regard to the scope of the Russians who were expelled, FLYNN said he did not understand it. FLYNN stated he could understand one PNG, but not thirty-five.

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ The interviewing agents asked FLYNN if he recalled any conversation with KISLYAK in which KISLYAK told him the Government of Russia had taken into account the incoming administration's position about the expulsions, or where KISLYAK said the Government of Russia had responded, or chosen to modulate their response, in any way to the U.S.'s actions as a result of a request by the incoming administration. FLYNN stated it was possible that he talked to KISLYAK on the issue, but if he did, he did not remember doing so. FLYNN stated he was attempting to start a good relationship with KISLYAK and move forward. FLYNN remembered making four to five calls that day about this issue, but that the Dominican Republic was a difficult place to make a call as he kept having connectivity issues. FLYNN reflected and stated he did not think he would have had a conversation with KISLYAK about the matter, as he did not know the expulsions were coming. FLYNN stated he did not have a long drawn out discussion with KISLYAK where he would have asked him to "don't do something."

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## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/31/2017

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~~(S//NF)~~ On January 24, 2017, Deputy Assistant Director (DAD) Peter P. Strzok II and [REDACTED] interviewed United States (U.S.) National Security Advisor Michael T. FLYNN, date of birth (DOB) [REDACTED] at his office at the White House. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, FLYNN provided the following information:

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Reason: 1.4(b)

Derived From: FBI NSISC-

20090612

Declassify On: 20421231

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Investigation on 01/24/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED]

Date drafted 01/24/2017

by [REDACTED] STRZOK PETER P II

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b7E -1(U) Continuation of FD-302 of ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Michael Flynn, On 01/24/2017, Page 2 of 5

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ FLYNN stated his second trip to Russia, after he left U.S. government service, had received so much press attention that "it [was] unbelievable." As background, FLYNN explained that he was never paid directly by media entities, however, he had been a contributor to a variety of media entities including Al Jazeera, Russia Today (RT), Sky, and MSNBC. FLYNN received a request from his speakers bureau, Leading Authorities (LAI), to speak about Middle East issues at the RT 10th Anniversary reception in Moscow. FLYNN was paid for the speech by LAI. FLYNN did not know from whom LAI received payment. FLYNN met with KISLYAK at the Russian Ambassador's residence next to the University Club prior to this trip to Russia. The visit was a courtesy call to the Ambassador prior to his trip, and FLYNN took his son with him to this meeting. The meeting occurred in the mid-afternoon. In addition, FLYNN received a DIA threat briefing prior to the travel.

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b7E -1Continuation of FD-302 of ~~(S//NF)~~ Michael Flynn

On 01/24/2017, Page 3 of 5

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b7E -1Continuation of FD-302 of [REDACTED] Michael Flynn

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(U) responded, "Yes, good reminder." On the 22nd of December, FLYNN called a litany of countries to include Israel, the UK, Senegal, Egypt, maybe France and maybe Russia/KISLYAK. Part of the reason for FLYNN's calls was to conduct an exercise to see how fast the incoming administration could get someone on the line. FLYNN likened it to a battle drill to see who the administration could reach in a crisis. The exercise was conducted at the campaign's GSA transition building on 18th and I Streets N.W., which FLYNN described as a somewhat chaotic environment. FLYNN stated he conducted these calls to attempt to get a sense of where countries stood on the UN vote, specifically, whether they intended to vote or abstain.

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ The interviewing agents asked FLYNN if he made any request of KISLYAK to vote in a particular way or take any action. FLYNN stated he did not. FLYNN stated he did not believe his calls to the various countries would change anything. FLYNN recalled there needed to be a certain number of abstention votes to alter the outcome, and that having looked at the math at the time, he knew it could not be achieved. FLYNN said 14 countries were voting, and had a recollection of the number of five votes being important. In the end, only the U.S. abstained. FLYNN stated his calls were about asking where countries would stand on a vote, not any requests of, "hey if you do this."

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ The interviewing agents asked FLYNN if he made any comment to KISLYAK about voting in a certain manner, or slowing down the vote, or if KISLYAK described any Russian response to a request by FLYNN. FLYNN answered, "No." FLYNN stated the conversations were along the lines of where do you stand, and what's your position. FLYNN heard through other channels that Egypt did not like the vote, and believed the Egyptians of their own accord delayed the vote a day. FLYNN again stated that he appreciated the interviewing agents reminding him that he had another conversation with KISLYAK.

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ The interviewing agents asked FLYNN if he recalled any conversation with KISLYAK surrounding the expulsion of Russian diplomats or closing of Russian properties in response to Russian hacking activities surrounding the election. FLYNN stated that he did not. FLYNN reiterated his conversation was about the PUTIN /TRUMP VTC and the "Astana thing" (the Kazakhstan conference described earlier). FLYNN noted he was not aware of the then-upcoming actions as he did not have access to television news in

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the Dominican Republic and his government BlackBerry was not working.

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ The interviewing agents asked FLYNN if he recalled any conversation with KISLYAK in which the expulsions were discussed, where FLYNN might have encouraged KISLYAK not to escalate the situation, to keep the Russian response reciprocal, or not to engage in a "tit-for-tat." FLYNN responded, "Not really. I don't remember. It wasn't, 'Don't do anything.'" The U.S. Government's response was a total surprise to FLYNN. FLYNN did not know about the Persona Non-Grata (PNG) action until it was in the media. KISLYAK and FLYNN were starting off on a good footing and FLYNN was looking forward to the relationship. With regard to the scope of the Russians who were expelled, FLYNN said he did not understand it. FLYNN stated he could understand one PNG, but not thirty-five.

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ The interviewing agents asked FLYNN if he recalled any conversation with KISLYAK in which KISLYAK told him the Government of Russia had taken into account the incoming administration's position about the expulsions, or where KISLYAK said the Government of Russia had responded, or chosen to modulate their response, in any way to the U.S.'s actions as a result of a request by the incoming administration. FLYNN stated it was possible that he talked to KISLYAK on the issue, but if he did, he did not remember doing so. FLYNN stated he was attempting to start a good relationship with KISLYAK and move forward. FLYNN remembered making four to five calls that day about this issue, but that the Dominican Republic was a difficult place to make a call as he kept having connectivity issues. FLYNN reflected and stated he did not think he would have had a conversation with KISLYAK about the matter, as he did not know the expulsions were coming. FLYNN stated he did not have a long drawn out discussion with KISLYAK where he would have asked him to "don't do something."

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